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THESIS

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION
ON
THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

by

John Ruse Kapp
(A.B. Baker U. 1930)

submitted in partial fulfillment of the re-
quirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

1933.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS
ON THE CULTURE OF THE

A. S. & P. CO.

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OUTLINE

I. Introduction .

- a. Statement of purpose p.1
- b. General Background 2
- c. Work of Emperor Charles V 6

II. The Council in Session

- a. Preliminary discussion 8
- b. Organization of the Council 9

III. Codification of Doctrine

- a. Sources of Religious Knowledge 11
- b. Original Sin 23
- c. Justification 33
- d. The Sacraments 44

IV. Reform 52

V. Summary 72

CONTENTS

I. Introduction

- a. Statement of Purpose
- b. General Background
- c. Work of Superior Charles V

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- a. Preliminary discussion
- b. Organization of the Council

III. Definition of Doctrine

- a. Sources of Religious Knowledge
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IV. Reform

V. Summary

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

It is the purpose of this Thesis to point out the definite influence that the Protestant Reformation exerted upon the deliberations of the Council of Trent. This will be done by tracing the events that led to the calling of the Council, and by showing that had it not been for the Reformation, the Council would have never been called. In the consideration of the actual work of the Council, certain important matters of doctrine and reform will be chosen and their relation to the Protestant Reformation made clear. During this task the endeavor will always be to demonstrate that these matters were dealt with in the way in which they were because of the work of the Reformers.

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INTRODUCTION

It was perfectly evident to all observers, even the most casual, that in the early part of the sixteenth century, there was need for a change in the policy and the practice of the Roman Catholic Church. The vast power, that in medieval times, came to be centered in the hands of the Church, and especially in those of her head, the Pope, inevitably led to many abuses. Voices were not lacking to protest against all this, and indeed they had been raised for several centuries.

The Council of Trent represents the culmination of a long movement toward reform in the church. Those of her members who were sensitive to the abuses had been long protesting. Starting in the early part of the fourteenth century with Dante, the cry for reform gained in volume. Marsiglio of Padua wrote his epoch-making treatise in that same century and supplied the basis for all the reformers up until the time of Luther. Indeed, some of his propositions are identical with those of the great Reformer. For example, he held the New Testament to be the final authority for the church; that a council is the supreme body of the church, and that the head of the State may call a council.

Wyclif in England took up the task of reform in the same century and he was ably seconded by John Huss in Bohemia who met a tragic fate at the Council of Constance. But despite the efforts of these leaders and of many others, the secularization and despotism of the church rolled on.

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Wyclif in England took up the task of reform in the same century and he was ably seconded by John Huss in Bohemia who met a tragic fate at the Council of Constance. But despite the efforts of these leaders and of many others, the secularization and despotism of the church rolled on. The cry was always for a council, a general council of the church to be convened where these abuses might be corrected. The papal method was traditional and so was naturally preserved. A series of so-called Re-

forming Councils was held in the fifteenth century at Pisa, Constance and Basel. While reform was chief on the agenda of these Councils, very little was accomplished. They did succeed in making a start in one direction, that of curbing the power of the Pope.

The Holy See had long been held to be the chief offender in the church, for if the head was corrupt, how could the members be expected to remain uncontaminated? So at the Council of Constance the principle was enumerated: "that an ecumenical Council, legally convened, and fully representative of the Church, has its power directly from Christ and that its decrees are consequently obligatory on all, even on the Pope!"¹ This was indeed a blow at papal pretensions to complete primacy. It was reinforced by the decree "Frequens" which provided that the Pope should call a check-applying council at least once in every ten years. Such were the means by which the church sought to throw off its "old man of the sea." But these hopes failed of realization.

The Council of Basel sought the same ends, but it directed itself toward attacks on the Papacy rather than attempts to reform it. This Council proved impotent and so a measure of papal prestige was regained. By various measures the Popes managed to evade the fulfillment of the decree of "Frequens" and so their power grew almost unchecked. "All roads indeed led to Rome", for the Holy See drained all parts of the Church's domain of money and men. All helped to make the Papal Court the rival of that of any emperor in wealth and display.

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1. New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia III, p. 249.

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part of the earlier Councils to bring about a reformation within the Church of Rome. The cry for reform which had arisen within the church was still strong, but it was rendered impotent by the shrewdness and opposition of the Popes. It remained for the Protestant Reformation to give such point to this movement for reform that a Council had to be called. The Reformers agitated the religious question in Germany until it seemed probable that the entire nation would be lost to the Church. Affairs were at such a fever pitch that the Pope saw he must take definite action, lest everything Romish should be swept out of Germany on a flood tide of Protestant reaction. Luther's appeal to the Christian Nobility, along with his other writings, had the desired effect, and it began to appear probable that the secular authorities would take matters in their own hands. We shall deal with this point more in detail in the following pages. But the point here is that after the former Councils had failed, it was the Protestant Reformation which actually brought about the calling of the Council of Trent. It was the power which spurred the Emperor on to demand Conciliar action in order to settle the religious question in Germany.

But there were many who refused to concede the Pope all the

power which the Holy See claimed might be possible, but it would not tolerate the idea of a national council.

No negotiations began on the question, but religious wars stopped.

1. The Catholic Encyclopedia IV, p. 30.

part of the earlier Councils to bring about a reformation within the Church of Rome. The cry for reform which had arisen within the church was still at hand, but it was regarded as important by the authorities and opposition of the Pope. It remained for the Protestant Reformation to give such point to this movement for reform that a Council had to be called. The Reformers agitated the religious question in Germany until it seemed probable that the entire nation would be lost to the Church. At first there was a fever pitch that the Pope saw he must take definite action, lest everything German should be swept out of German hands on a flood tide of Protestant reaction. Luther's appeal to the Christian nobility, along with his other writings, had the desired effect, and it began to appear probable that the secular authorities would take matters in their own hands. We shall deal with this point more in detail in the following pages. But the point here is that after the former Councils had failed it was the Protestant Reformation which actually brought about the calling of the Council of Trent. It was the power which spurred the emperor on to demand Conciliar action in order to settle the religious question in Germany. But there were many who refused to concede the Pope all the

power he had usurped, and so he had good reason to be wary of General Councils. They contained too much dynamite. Still, the idea remained in the air, and the Protestant Reformation brought it very much to the fore. The energetic onslaught of the reformers, along with those like-minded within the church, caused the conviction to grow that a General Council was the only way out. All of Europe was in a ferment over the religious question. Starting in Germany, the new doctrines had spread until the writings of Luther were sold even in Spain and Italy. So the situation was indeed critical for the Holy See, for the Reformation sent men always in search of the original sources and served to render them critical of all existing institutions or authority. They learned that no longer were they bound to read the Bible through ecclesiastical spectacles, but that each man might be his own interpreter. The development of printing with the consequent wide-spread dissemination of the scriptures aided greatly in this. This movement, the authorities of the church readily saw, was fatal to their monopoly of Christian truth.

Yet there was still the faith in a Council. Luther was convinced of the impartiality of such a body to the extent of appealing to it, after the Pope had condemned his doctrines. This was in 1518, and in 1523 the German Diet called for a free Council to be held on German soil.¹ If this National Council could not be granted, then it suggested a General Council. This latter the Holy See conceded might be possible, but it would not tolerate the idea of a National Council.

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them for the time being. Later, Clement VII proposed a Council on the condition that the Protestants attend in the role of penitent supplicants for reinstatement in the good graces of the Church. This they naturally refused to do.

As we have surveyed the general background of the Council of Trent, we have now to consider the immediate cause, which was found in the person of Emperor Charles V.

In line with the custom of the times, which was for the secular rulers to take the leading part in the affairs of the church, Charles was active in efforts to call a Council. He seconded the appeals of Luther and the German Diet, and pressed the case with the Pope. In his eyes such a gathering was the best, and in fact, the only feasible means of settling the controversy started by the Reformation and of reunifying the Church. He was especially anxious that the Protestants should receive fair play, for he was astute enough to see that they would surely go their own way unless they were pacified by the institution of definite reforms. He was between the two fires of internal trouble in Germany and of trying to keep the goodwill of the Pope.

We have noted the hesitance of the Popes in the matter of calling a Council. This held true until Paul III came to power. He had favored the idea of a Council while still a Cardinal, and as Pope, carried it on. How much of his attitude was due to conviction and how much to expediency, we cannot say. But at any rate he was alive to the situation as it was headed up by Charles V. Negotiations began and were lengthy and filled with interruptions. Paul III was determined that the Council should convene on Itali-

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an soil where it would be under his control. This was counter to the wishes of Germany, for the demand there was for a free Council where even the Pope would be called in judgment. "Let a free Council meet in a free place, freely composed of all the orders", said the Germans.¹ Charles even had a change of heart and opposed the Council for a time, for he feared nothing but further discord would result. It was all too patent a fact that the powers of the church were set upon a humiliation of the Protestants. The manner in which this aim was realized will appear in the many instances cited hereafter.

But it is pretty well established, says Lindsay,² that the fear that Germany would create a national Church somewhat on the lines of the one in England, was the whip that drove Paul III on. It was now or never if he wished to hold a Council that he could control, for the idea of reform was in the air and would not be denied. The Pope's eyes were fully opened to the gravity of the situation, "when at Speier, in 1544, the Emperor had promised the Protestants to secure them a free Council or to settle the religious question without further ado at a Diet of the Empire."³ The Lutherans were privately assured that the Pope was not to be allowed to stand in the way. Such proceedings naturally gave rise to the fear that their bumptious Emperor who had undertaken the heavy burden of setting Christendom in order, would secure control of the Council and thus of the Holy See.

So we are to give credit to Charles V for the final convening of the Council of Trent. He was not in the least a Protestant, and ever con-

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 2. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 565.
 3. Ward, The Counter-Reformation, p. 60

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1. Frothingham, The Council of Trent, p. 61.
2. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 265.
3. Ward, The Counter-Reformation, p. 80.

sidered himself a loyal son of the Church. But the urgent need of restoration of harmony in Germany and a lurking sense of fair play and toleration kept him at the task of promoting the project. In support of this we read: "Unable, however, to resist the urgency of Charles V . . . Paul III . . .
¹ convened the Council at Trent." Also, "the Council of Trent, which was
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THE COUNCIL IN SESSION

At last the long-awaited and oft-deferred Council finally got under way in Trent, December 13, 1545. With many interruptions and delays it stretched over a period of eighteen years and under three Popes. The Bull which ~~called~~ the Council added a third objective, that of calling for a crusade against unbelievers, to the two generally accepted aims. However, it proved to be merely a dead letter.

We have two differing opinions as to the character of the delegates assembled in Trent. Kinsman tells us that they were the flower of the scholarship of the day, despite their limited numbers and the fact that a heavy majority of Italians was always on hand sworn to do the Pope's bidding. These Italians, we are told, were the defenders of the Papacy. "All those opposed to papal supremacy were outnumbered, outvoted and out-
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 The contrary view is set forth by Littledale. He is quite parti-

1. New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia XII, p. 1.
2. Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics III, p. 838.
3. Kinsman: Trent, p. 24.
4. Harnack, History of Dogma VII, p. 35.
5. Brownlee, Canons And Decrees, Preface, pp. IV and V.

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1. New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia XII, p. 1.
2. H. Kneass, "The Council of Trent and Charles V.", p. 28.
3. Kneass, Trent, p. 24.
4. Kneass, History of Trent, p. 25.
5. Kneass, Trent and Charles V., p. 26.

san, but doubtless has a reasonable basis for his position. He quotes from one of the primary historians, Paolo Sarpi, who says that it was "a Council of incarnate demons. They were proud, ambitious, sensual, immoral men . . . often the most violent brawls and indecent scenes took place." If this be even a partially true picture of the delegates, it is small wonder that the Pope could so easily divert any spirit of reconciliation that might have made its way into the Council.

Paul III had been explicit in the instructions that he had forwarded to the Legates in charge. They were to allow nothing to precede the discussion of dogma, the wishes of the Emperor to the contrary. As Ward¹ says: "For it seemed to him of primary importance to draw, while there was time, a clear line of demarcation between the church and heresy, and for this as he correctly judged, the assistance of the Council was absolutely indispensable."

The Legates attempted to obey their orders, but despite all they could do, they were forced to bow to the wishes of the Council and accept a compromise. Both the question of dogma and that of reform were to be dealt with simultaneously and in alternate sessions. Each question was to be handled by a separate congregation and only the findings were to be presented to the Council as a whole. This compromise the Pope was obliged to accept. With these details being settled, the Council set to work.

It re-stated clearly its aim and purposes in the opening Decree² at the first session. "Doth it please you . . . unto the praise and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for the in-

1. Ward, The Counter-Reformation, p. 64.

2. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 12.

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crease and exaltation of the Christian faith and religion; for the extermination of heresies; for the peace and union of the Church; for the depression and extinction of the enemies of the Christian name, - to decree and declare that the sacred and general Council of Trent do begin . . . ?"

As noted above, it is evident that the Council would never have been called, had not the work of the Reformers rendered such action imperative. It began with a defensive attitude, but soon changed over to one that was militantly aggressive. This justified the foresight of the Legate, Cervini, who knew that once the delegates got to defining dogma, they would speedily go beyond the point where the Protestants might still be reconciled.

In pursuance of this end, plans were carefully laid to expose the Protestant teachings in the worst possible light. They were identified with the old medieval heresies - the Reformation doctrines are always exhibited in an exaggerated form and mixed up with real heresies which the reformers condemned as heartily as the Romanists.¹ The proclamation of the Catholic doctrine in opposition to these distorted Reformation doctrines was always uppermost in the minds of the Tridentine fathers.

"Sovereigns might wish them to conciliate Protestants; their own special concern was to recall them from their errors . . . good morals depended on restoration of right faith; hence they sought to confute error by clear proclamation of those aspects of truth which were specially assailed."² The decision to vote by heads rather than by nations aided this project greatly, for the Papal projects were thus assured of sufficient support.

We are to understand the sessions of the Council as being the general assemblies of the fathers, before which were placed the findings of

1. Muir, Arrested Reformation, p. 229

2. Kinsman, Trent, pp. 84-85.

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As the Romanists, however, were not content with this, they would have us have regard to the work of the Reformation. It began with a defensive attitude, but soon changed over to one that was militantly aggressive. This justified the foresight of the Legate, Cardinal, who knew that once the delegates got to defining dogma, they would speedily go beyond the point where the Protestants might still be reconciled.

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the congregations. These groups had, in turn, groups of able theologians who lent the weight of their scholarship in the clarification and codification of knotty problems, but who were not allowed to vote. All along the line Papal pressure was brought to bear, for couriers passed constantly between Trent and Rome. As the Council progressed, their lobbying came to be more and more marked. Indeed, in the third meeting the proposed Decrees were sent to Rome and from there they made the rounds of the courts of Europe before coming up for a vote before the Council. One irreverent Father remarked that "The Holy Ghost is brought from Rome in a Courier's bag."

THE SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

The actual work of codification of dogma now began. Although the matter of reform received attention along with matters of doctrine, we shall treat it separately and deal with certain important matters of doctrine first.

The first consideration here was in regard to the canonical scriptures. Discussion of it began in the congregations prior to the Fourth Session. A basis for this and for all the other doctrinal statements had been laid in the Third Session. There the Nicene Creed had been re-affirmed and the filioque clause had been added with the significant qualification: "Sym-¹ bolum fidei quo sancta ecclesia Romana utitur." This ancient Creed was extolled as "that firm and alone foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail."² It had long been the custom to read this Creed be-

1. Cambridge, Modern History II, p. 665.

2. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 16.

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THE SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

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The first consideration here was in regard to the canonical scriptures. Discussion of it began in the congregations prior to the Fourth Session. A basis for this and for all the other doctrinal statements had been laid in the Third Session. There the Nicene Creed had been re-affirmed and the *Symbolic* clause had been added with the significant qualification: "Sym-
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bolism fidelis quo sancta ecclesia Romana utitur." This ancient Creed was extolled as "that firm and alone foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail." It had long been the custom to read this Creed be-
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fore the churches and now it was read before the Council as a shield against heresies.

It has been suggested that this public recitation and adoption of the Nicene Creed (though many of the members of the Council regarded it as a mere ceremonial act, one that made no progress in the work before them) was to lay down a basis for the reconciliation of the Protestants by stating those points of belief wherein they were for the most part in accord with the Roman Church, before proceeding to enlarge on the points of difference between them.¹ This might have been the case, for the reformers were, in general, favorable in their attitude toward it. Luther included it in both his Short and Greater Catechisms. It was part of the Augsburg Confession, the entire first half of which had actually been at one time proposed as a common ground of agreement. But the gesture of peace, if such it was, was only half-hearted and was of no avail.

One can easily trace the influence of the Reformation in the priority given to discussion of the Canon of Scripture. The constant appeal of the reformers had been to the right of every man to read his Bible and to interpret it as he saw fit. This was the attitude of Luther when he declared before the Diet of Worms, "Councils have erred. Popes have erred. Prove to me out of the Scriptures that I am wrong and I submit. Till you have proved it, my conscience binds me. I can do no other, God help me. Amen."² This bold declaration of Luther was in sharp opposition to the established doctrine of the Catholics, for they maintained that the gospel was only preserved and transmitted through their own channels. This was made clear in the opening sentence of the Decree on the Canonical Scriptures, where it was laid

1. Littledale, History of Council of Trent, p. 33.

2. Frome, Council of Trent, p. 52.

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down that, "errors being removed, the purity itself of the gospel be preserved in the church . . . and seeing clearly that this truth and discipline are contained in the written books, and the unwritten traditions which, received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even unto us, transmitted, as it were, from hand to hand."¹ So we see the definite influence of Lutheran teaching in the introduction of this discussion.

In this Fourth Session the first breach between the Protestants and the Catholics took place, one that heralded the final rupture. The doctrinal congregations, says Froude² had selected four propositions out of the writings of Luther which the Council was to be asked to anathematize:

(1) "That Holy Scripture contained all things necessary for salvation, and that it was impious to place apostolic tradition on a level with Scripture."

(2) "That certain books accepted as canonical in the Vulgate were apocryphal and not canonical."

(3) "That Scripture must be studied in the original language, and that there were errors in the Vulgate."

(4) "That the meaning of Scripture is plain, and that it can be understood without commentary, with the help of Christ's Spirit."

Some of the reformers went even further than this and rejected other books from the canon. So here was a matter that needed strong measures if it was not to get entirely out of hand. It got them.

The Lutheran errors were taken up at once. Debate waxed warm,

1. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 18.

2. Froude, Council of Trent, p. 174.

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for all the Fathers seemed desirous of making known their opinions. Froude¹ tells of a Carmelite friar who spoke on the first point. He said that though the apostles had taught only by word of mouth and much of what they had said was known only through traditions, yet he felt it unwise to raise the question. For the fathers of the church had, as a rule, appealed to Scripture rather than to tradition, and wisdom would indicate a following of their example.

One of the Legates, Reginald Pole, who, as a rule, took little part in the proceedings, at once rose to the bait. He saw heresy of the most Lutheran sort in that argument. He said that such speeches were more at home in a German Diet than in a Catholic Council. It is indicative of his attitude when he urged that "tenderness to the Lutherans was folly. They must be broken down, driven to their knees, everyone of their errors dragged to light and condemned. Agreement with heretics was impossible, and the world must be made to see that it was impossible."²

Such a bold plan, of course, occasioned a deal of debate. Many phases of the problem were discussed and specialists were assigned to delve into the ramifications. A variety of opinions came to light on the matter of the relative place and worth of Scripture and Tradition. Some held that only those traditions that might be labelled apostolic might rightfully be accepted. One bishop argued that the subject should be dropped, that the traditions were a burden to Christians and further, that it was impious to place them on a par with Scripture. All were agreed that such traditions existed, but they scarce could agree on how they were to be received. After repeated meetings, a growing sentiment of agreement spread amongst the Fathers, that

1. Froude, The Council of Trent, p. 175.

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the decree of the Council of Florence should be taken as the guide on the matter of Tradition. The exponents of the exclusion, either wholly or in part, of tradition, met the censure of the Legates, and especially that of Pole, who seemed to feel keenly on this point. They pointed out that their position "would amount to an admission that the Protestants were right in their main contention against the Church, and that the whole cause of ecclesiastical discipline and of Church ceremonial was so indissolubly bound up with tradition that it could not be defended against attack without such aid."¹

The appeal that the reformers ever made to the original sources was very embarrassing to the Church when she came to defend her doctrines and usages. As the Legates saw, only by invoking the authority of tradition could they be justified. Unless these traditions were elevated to a par with the Scriptures they could not be relied upon as a source of authority. So by a recognition of both of these sources of authority as being equally valid and of divine origin, the Romanist position could be defended. The Protestants, headed by Luther, had denied the piety of such elevation, and now the Council saw itself forced in self-defence to affirm the contrary. Indeed, only a crumbling shell and wreck of what had once been the mighty medieval Church, would have been left if the foundation of tradition were cut away. So the deputies, who were entrusted with the drawing up of the Decree took all these things into consideration and framed the Decree in accordance. When it had been duly accepted, despite several dissenting voices, the first of the proposed Lutheran errors was disposed of.

The position of the Vulgate in the Church had always been obscure.

1. Littledale, History of Council of Trent, p. 36.

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In fact, this entire matter of the sources of knowledge and of the authorities for truth had never before been dealt with by a Council. So this Decree was all the more important in that it at least cleared the air of the uncertainty that had always existed on this important matter. The Vulgate, in particular, had had authority ascribed to it, but so sharp and learned had been the attacks made upon it, headed by Erasmus, that no one knew just how much authority was left to it. And now if the Protestant contention, that everyone should be allowed to read from the originals and translate for himself, were allowed, the prestige of the Vulgate would be gone.

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Fromde tells us of the confusion that all these considerations spread in the Council. It was recalled that the primacy of Rome rested upon a single text, "Thou art Peter." What if a new translation should change those magic words? Indeed, they had cause to fear such an event. Luther, in his "Address to the Nobility" ² had pointed out that it was a "wickedly devised fable" that only the Pope was competent to interpret Scripture. To the contention of the church that this authority was given to Peter along with the mystic "keys", Luther replied that those keys were given not to Peter alone, but to the entire community. So the Church rightly feared the effect of new translations or interpretations of the Scriptures. The only way to be sure that it could not happen would be to declare only one version inspired and authoritative.

Again, how were the inquisitors to recognize heresy unless they could themselves refer to the original sources? That meant they would have to be Greek and Hebrew scholars. So the Fathers concluded that the

1. Fromde, The Council of Trent, p. 177

2. Wade and Buchheim, Luther's Primary Works, p. 170.

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Vulgate must be allowed to stand. Someone suggested that the Council then sitting must be inspired; so it had but to declare the Vulgate acceptable and it too would bear the seal of inspiration. This brought forth the objection that St. Jerome, the translator, had confessed that he was not inspired, and that the Vulgate was excellent and usable, yet the Council ought not to set it forth as perfect. This view failed of support. For the Fathers were quite satisfied to agree that there were no errors of faith or of morals in the Vulgate, and that the Church ought to accept it. So their position disposed of the second and third of the "errors" of Luther that were up before the Council for condemnation.

The fourth statement was then dealt with. Luther was made to say that the meaning of Scripture was plain to all who wished to read it. This contention the bishops regarded with horror, for such free reading must be the chief cause of heresy. Heretics were known to be fond of quoting Scripture, and many of their quotations were very difficult to answer. True, some did object that Scripture reading had been enjoined of old, but the current opinion was that learned persons had already studied the Scriptures sufficiently. So the vulgar were forbidden to presume to understand Scripture for themselves, and Luther stood wholly condemned.

A question which came up in connection with the use of the Scriptures was in regard to their translation into the vernacular. Some contended that this was an unmixed evil, while others "alleged that to forbid them would do great mischief in Germany, and give a handle to the enemies of the Church to charge her with taking the gospel away from the people."¹ This was further defended on the basis of St. Paul, who had wished to have the

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sacred Word familiar to the faithful.

Lindsay sums up the work of the Council on the matter of Scriptures¹ under four heads, all of them in opposition to the Protestants.

"It accepted as canonical all the books contained in the Septuagint, and therefore the apocrypha of the Old Testament, and did so heedless of the fact that the editor of the Vulgate, Jerome, had thought very little of the apocrypha. The reformers in their desire to go back to the earliest and purest sources, had pronounced in favor of the Hebrew Canon; the Council, in spite of Jerome, accepted the common medieval tradition."

"The effect of the reception of tradition on an equal footing with Scripture, was to decree that there was in the Church "an infallibly correct mode of interpreting Scripture, and to give the ecclesiastical authorities the means of warding off any Protestant attack based upon the Holy Scriptures alone. The Council was careful to avoid stating who were the guardians of this dogmatic tradition, but in the end it led to the declaration of Pope Pius IX . . . and placed a decision of a Pope speaking ex cathedra on a level² with the word of God."

The Council went on to proclaim that in the Vulgate version alone was to be found the authoritative text of Holy Scripture. This ~~also was a~~ new departure, and was the more striking in that it cast aside ~~all~~ the scholarship of the Renaissance and, in fact, ran counter to all the best usages of the Church in the Middle Ages. The spirit in which this assertion was made³ is best expressed in the words of the Council: "But if anyone receive not, as sacred and canonical, the said books entire with all their parts, as they

1. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 572-573.

2. Ibid, p. 573.

3. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 19.

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1. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 272-273.

2. Ibid. p. 273.

3. Waterworth, Canon and Doctrine, p. 12.

have been used to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition; and knowingly and deliberately contemn the traditions aforesaid; let him be anathema." Thus the Council delivered itself, after having, in the opening of the Decree on the Canonical Scriptures, enumerated the books of the Vulgate edition, which were now by Conciliar action declared to be inspired. It was "privately agreed upon, but not mentioned in the decree, that the Pope should be petitioned to have a correct and revised edition issued."¹ Admission enough that the errors in the Vulgate were all too apparent. But this recognition would have been fatal to the cause of the opponents of the Reformation, so the matter was hushed up.

It was further asserted that every believer must accept the Scriptures only in the sense in which the Church taught them, and that no one was to oppose the unanimous consent of the Fathers. "Furthermore, in order to restrain petulant spirits, it (the Council) decrees that no one, relying on his own skill, shall wresting the sacred Scriptures to his own senses, presume to interpret the said sacred Scripture contrary to that sense which holy mother Church . . . hath held and doth hold."² A marked emphasis this, upon the ~~dogmatism~~ that the Roman Catholic Church ever sought to impart to her doctrines. In all this there was no attempt to define what constituted the Church, nor just who those Fathers were, whose opinions were to be so venerated.³ Lindsay says that it is easy to see that, "the whole trend of this decision was to place the authoritative exposition of the Scriptures in the hands of the Pope, although at the time the

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3. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 574.

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It was further asserted that every believer must accept the Scriptures only in the sense in which the Church taught them, and that no one was to oppose the unanimous consent of the Church. Furthermore, in order to maintain perfect unity, the Council decrees that no one, relying on his own skill, shall . . . wresting the sacred Scriptures to his own senses, presume to interpret the said sacred Scriptures contrary to that sense which holy mother Church . . . hath held and doth hold.² A married Catholic, upon the Reformation, that the Roman Catholic Church ever sought to impart to her children. In all this there was no attempt to deny what constituted the Church, nor was who the Church was, was, what opinions were to be so venerated. Lindsey says that it is easy to see that, "the whole trend of this decision was to place the authoritative edition of the Scriptures in the hands of the Pope, although at the time the

1. Luffdale, *History of the Council of Trent*, p. 35.
2. *Westminster Canon and Decree*, p. 12.
3. Lindsey, *History of the Reformation II*, p. 274.

Council lacked the courage to say so."

One of the features of the Protestant Reformation was the activity of the printers who turned out in quantities editions of the Bible without the due permission of the ecclesiastical authorities. They went even further and dared to comment upon the meaning and interpretation of the Scripture. This was only the Lutheran assertion of the right of all men to extract their own meaning from the Bible, but it was intolerable to the Fathers at Trent. Also, these were often issued without the name of the author, or a fictitious name was appended. So the heretic often escaped the just reward of his temerity. All activity of this type was now placed under the ban.¹ The Vulgate was to be printed "in the most correct manner possible" and further, no books on sacred matters were to appear without the name of the author. Even more severely, it was ordered that it was unlawful "to sell them in the future, or even to keep them, unless they shall have been first examined and approved of by the Ordinary." Manuscripts were placed under the same regulations as were those who circulated or lent them. The approval of the Ordinary must be secured in writing and placed in the beginning of each book or manuscript.

We have pointed out how the debate waxed warm in the Council on the various phases of the Decree on the Scriptures. In the end, the wishes of Paul III were realized and all seemed to be going according to plan. The teachings of Luther were being held up to ridicule and then placed under pleasantly strong anathema. But the outer world was not so well pleased. The Decree ran counter to all the contentions of the Protestants and in effect declared war upon them. They felt its censure all the more keenly inasmuch as it had been signed by only forty-nine bishops who were presuming to

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dictate to all Christendom. The Council had been called presumably to reconcile differences between Protestants and Catholics; actually it was going as rapidly as possible in the opposite direction. Charles V was greatly disturbed over the anathemas, for he saw they were certain to increase the hostility of the Protestants, the very thing he had hoped the Council would remedy. So he sent a message of protest to the Council, which was little heeded.

Other protests were forthcoming, notable among them being one from the pen of Melanchthon. There were also many criticisms on the wording of the decree. While the Pope was pleased with the condemnation of the Protestants, he became alarmed at certain notes in the discussions, and sent orders to the Legates giving them very definite instructions.¹ No decree was to be published or even submitted to the congregation until he had seen and passed upon it; no time was to be spent over points which were not disputed, and there was to be no debate over papal authority. The Legates promised to obey as far as possible, but pointed out that many questions were in dispute that the Pope seemed to think were settled.

We could do no better in bringing this section of our discussion to a close than to use the words of Harnack.² He refers to the Decree on the canonical Scriptures and goes on to say, "In its making the main point of the whole decision lie in 'preserving the purity of the gospel', it gives positive evidence of the influence of the Reformation; but in its declaring the apocrypha of the Old Testament canonical, in its placing tradition alongside Scripture as a second source of information; in its proclaim-

1. Littledale, History of Council of Trent, p. 37.

2. Harnack, History of Dogma Vii, p. 40.

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ing the Vulgate to be authoritative, and in its assigning to the Church alone the right to expound Scripture, it defines most sharply the opposition to Protestantism."

In the treatment of the Sources of Religious Knowledge by the Council of Trent, we see the positive influence of the Reformation. The cry of the Reformers had ever been; "Back to the original sources." Here alone, they contented, could the Gospel be found in its pristine purity. They had accepted the Hebrew Canon, for it was the earliest. Quite in opposition to this Reformation view, we find that the Council proclaimed in favor of the Vulgate and the Septuagint, which were much later. The Fathers made the whole Decree turn upon the preservation of the "purity of the Gospel," but the effort appears to have ended with the words. They cast aside all of the best scholarship of the Renaissance, and thus jeopardized the purity they professed to be seeking. This action, among others which will be cited later, reveals that Trent stood forth as the determined foe of the Protestants. The assembled Fathers appear to have been capable of shutting their eyes upon all considerations save that of denouncing their opponents.

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THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN

Following the settlement of the question of what constituted the approved Scripture and its proper usage, the Doctrine of Original Sin came up for treatment. It, along with the matter of Justification, which followed it, came up thus early in the discussion, not because of their value or place in the Church, but simply because Protestantism, by its opposition to their customary interpretation, forced such priority of discussion. Reform had been discussed to some extent, and many members of the Council were insistent that further debate be held upon it. But the presiding Legate stipulated that reform should be tabled until the matter of Original Sin had been carried at least to the point of definition, where it might safely be left for a time.

"The Reformation had challenged the Roman Church to say whether it had any spiritual religion at all or was simply an institution claiming to possess a secret science of salvation through ceremonies which required little or no spiritual life on the part of priests or recipients. The challenge had to be met, not merely on account of the Protestants, but because devout Romanists had declared that it must be done. The answer was given in the two doctrines of Original Sin and Justification, as defined by the Council of Trent."¹

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Following the settlement of the question of what constituted the approved Scripture and its proper usage, the doctrine of original sin came up for treatment. It, along with the matter of justification, which followed it, came up thus early in the discussion, not because of their value or place in the Church, but simply because Protestants, by its opposition to their quasi-interpretation, forced such priority of discussion. Reform had been discussed to some extent, and many members of the Council were insistent that further debate be held upon it. But the presiding legate stipulated that reform should be treated until the matter of original sin had been carried at least to the point of definition, where it might safely be left for a time. "The Reformation had challenged the Roman Church to say whether it had any spiritual religion at all or was simply an institution claiming to possess a secret science of salvation through ceremonies which required little or no spiritual life on the part of priests or recipients. The challenge had to be met, not merely on account of the Protestants, but because devout Romanists had declared that it must be done. The answer was given in the two testaments of original sin and justification, as defined by the Council of Trent."

In the Roman Church the requirement had been merely to conform with the "use and wont" of that Church as it had come down through the centuries. The reformers, on the other hand, put the whole case directly up to the individual. He had to be his own priest, with no one between himself and his God. No system or hierarchy was there to tell him what to do and how to do it. He must have faith in his God, which faith was the only thing needed to obtain for his sins pardon and for himself Justification. So the issue was sharply put and the two paths defined.

In the Council of Trent the Catholic Church re-affirmed their historic conception of the value of the Sacraments as the very foundation of their system. But it also attempted to show that there was a definite spiritual element in her "use and wont", Harnack¹ tells us that "a discussion of the Reformation conception of Christianity on its merits dared not be avoided. That was demanded even by many Catholic Christians. Just at that time, indeed, there was a party influential in Catholicism who strongly accentuated the Augustinian — mystic thoughts — they were a counterpoise to the sacramental system — and who set themselves to oppose the Pelagianism and Probabilism which are the coefficients of the Sacrament Church. The two decrees on original sin and justification are, on the one hand, the precipitate of the discussion with Protestant Christianity, and on the other hand, a compromise between Thomism (Augustinianism) and Nominalism." He goes on to elaborate the point that these Decrees, and in particular the one on justification, were the peculiar product of the times. For then the Church was under the influence of both Augustinianism and Protestantism, in regard to the spiritual conception of religion. "Indeed, it may be doubted whether the Reformation would

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have developed itself if this Decree (on Justification) had been issued at the Lateran Council at the beginning of the century and had really passed into the flesh and blood of the church."¹

However, on this point we may only speculate, inasmuch as this particular Decree as well as the rest of the pronouncements of Trent were the product of a situation that has never since been duplicated in the Roman Church. But the decisions reached in regard to these vital doctrines proved to be of the utmost utility in helping to check the inroads that had been made by the Protestants. To show that the Legates recognized their value, we point out the urgent request which they sent to Rome, pleading for a fresh supply of Italian bishops to be dispatched at once to Trent. The need was met, for while the Decree on Scripture was signed by, or rather voted upon, by forty-nine prelates, that concerning Original Sin was passed upon by sixty-one delegates. Such nullification of the northern and Reforming vote was the consistent policy of Legates and Popes during the entire Council.

It had long been a disputed point between the Franciscans and the Dominicans whether the Virgin Mary was to be included among those who were corrupted by the fall of Adam. Debate in the Council on this subject grew warm. The presiding Legate pointed out that it was essential for the Council to confine itself to the matter of Original Sin, which was part of the heresy of Luther.

So it was resolved to delve into the matter and the inquiries were centered ^{around} ² five points: The nature of original sin, the

1. Harnack, History of Dogma VII, p. 57

2. Waterworth, Cónons and Decrees, p. xciv

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manner of its propagation; the effects produced by it; its remedy; and the effects of that remedy.

We read further in Waterworth¹ that a list of propositions taken from the writings of the heretics, were at the same time placed before the Council for examination and, if possible, condemnation.

"1. That though Adam, by his transgression of the prohibition of God, lost his original justice, incurred the anger of God, and subjected himself to the penalty of death, yet did he not transmit sin, but only the punishment of sin, to his posterity.

"2. That the sin of Adam is called original because it has been transmitted from him by imitation, but not by propagation.

"3. That original sin is the ignorance or contempt of God, causing man to be without trust in God, without fear, and without love of Him, and subject to concupiscence; is, in fact, a general corruption of the whole man, in his will, soul, and body.

"4. That there is in children a proneness to evil, which, when they come to the use of reason generates a distaste for good and a love for evil; and that this is original sin.

"5. That children, though baptized for the remission of sin, are not born in sin, and this especially as regards the children of the faithful.

"6. That baptism does not efface original sin, but only causes it not to be imputed, or as it were erased; so that, though it begins to be lessened, it is never utterly destroyed, in this life.

"7. That this sin, by remaining in the baptized, retards their entrance into heaven.

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"7. That this sin, by remaining in the baptized, retards their entrance

into heaven.

"8. That concupiscence is truly and essentially sin.

"9. That, besides death and the other penalties of original sin, the fire of hell is its appointed punishment."

On these extracts from unorthodox writings, as well as on the other points before the Council, there was long and minute discussion. In these debates the opinions of the various schools of thought of the times were presented with zeal by their exponents. The opinion of the Council was, however, that it had not assembled to judge the merits of the various schools, but that its business was to deal with the heresies of the time. Against these, it must present at all costs, a solid front. So it clearly stated its principle to avoid, in the decree to be published, everything that might in any way seem to give the preference to one or another of the schools. This it did not wholly succeed in doing as a study of the Decree will show.

The discussion dragged out for months, while the Fathers sought to find a point of agreement on the doctrine. Here the bishops seemed to be happy and there were not the disgraceful wrangles that always attended discussion of reform. The exact nature of original sin caused a vast amount of debate, as did the manner in which it was transmitted. On the first matter the Thomist position seemed to find the most favor in the congregations. On the latter, Catherinus¹ offered an ingenious explanation: He "argued for the existence of a covenant between the Almighty and Adam, by which the obedience or disobedience of our first parent was to affect the whole human race for good or evil." This seemed a plausible and simple explanation of a knotty question, though it was not taken as fully proving the point.

1. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, pp. 23-24.

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On the other points there was not very much difficulty or difference of opinion. All agreed upon the effects of original sin and the punishments that were inflicted upon it. Also the opinion was unanimous that baptism was the appointed remedy by which man is restored to the grace and favor of God. Again, all agreed that there is nothing having the true nature of sin that remains after baptism has performed its regenerating task, and therefore that concupiscence was not to be properly regarded as sin.

We shall now consider the Decree on Original Sin and how the propositions above listed as taken from the writings of the Protestants, were dealt with. It may be said in advance that they were directly and especially condemned. For the quotations of the five parts of the Decree, I am again¹ indebted to Waterworth.

"If any one does not confess that the first man, Adam, when he had transgressed the commandment of God in paradise, immediately lost the holiness and justice wherein he had been constituted; and that he incurred, through the offence of that prevarication, the wrath and indignation of God, and consequently death, with which God had previously threatened him, and together with death, captivity under . . . power . . . (of) the devil, and that the entire Adam, through that offence of prevarication, was changed in body and soul, for the worse, let him be anathema."

This is a vague definition of original sin and of how it came about. It has quite a Protestant ring, and it would be difficult to detect any great difference, between it and the Reformation teachings.

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"If any one asserts that the prevarication of Adam injured himself alone and not his posterity; and that the holiness and justice, received of God, which he lost, he lost for himself alone, and not for us also; or that he, being defiled by the sin of disobedience, has only transfused death, and pains of the body, into the whole human race, but not sin also, which is the death of the soul, let him be anathema."

Here we have a frontal attack upon certain of the above-mentioned propositions: Adam is represented by the reformers as having transmitted to posterity only the punishment of sin, but the above decree asserts that sin also came down to posterity.

"If any one asserts that this sin of Adam, - which in its origin is one, and being transfused into all by propagation, not by imitation, is in each one as his own, is taken away either by the powers of human nature, or by any other remedy than the merit of the one mediator, our Lord Jesus Christ . . . or if he denies that the said merit of Jesus Christ is applied both to adults and to infants by the sacrament of baptism rightly administered in the form of the Church; let him be anathema."

This section of the Decree is aimed at those who taught that baptism does not entirely obliterate the taint of original sin.¹ It also attacked the second proposition above given, i. e., that sin is transmitted by imitation, not by propagation.

"If any one denies that infants, newly born from their mothers' wombs, even though they be sprung from baptized parents, are to be baptized; or says that . . . they derive nothing of original sin . . . let him be anathema."

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Here we find condemned the teachings of the heretics on the matters of how children inherit sin and that the children of the faithful are not born in sin. The language is quite plain in its opposition to the reformed position on the baptism of children and its work.

"If any one denies, that, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is conferred in baptism, the guilt of original sin is remitted; or even asserts that the whole of that which has the true and proper nature of sin is not taken away; but says that it is only rased or not imputed; let him be anathema."

Here is defined the Roman position on the matter of whether or not concupiscence is sin. By concupiscence is understood "the collective desires of revolt existing in man (the revolt of the flesh against the spirit, of the spirit against God, etc.)"¹ Trent states that these desires are sinful by their mere existence, but that baptism renders them sinless, unless one after baptism yielded to their urgings. This seems like a splitting of hairs, yet is sufficiently in opposition to the reformed teaching, while also upholding the worth of the sacrament of baptism.

So in the five canons of the Decree the opinions of the reformers were quite thoroughly confuted. In the first four were condemned the teachings of Zwingli;² in the fifth that of Luther.³ Froude would have us believe that there is little difference between the wording of these canons and the position of the reformers. He stresses the point that the Council was only condemning those who worded their doctrine differently. However, the wording seems to indicate that there is a direct antithesis

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2. Sarpi, History of the Council of Trent, p. 169.

3. Froude, The Council of Trent, p. 194.

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1. Hagenauer, History of Council of Trent (Footnote) p. 122.
2. Garret, History of the Council of Trent, p. 129.
3. Brown, The Council of Trent, p. 124.

intended and achieved as compared with the condemned doctrines. The canons did make clear the cleavage between Protestants and Catholics and was the means of driving the wedge still deeper that was to finally split the two bodies apart.

While it was the announced intention to formulate a Decree that aimed at condemnation of heresy, without showing favor to any one school of Catholic thought, yet there seemed to be provision for the retention of certain of the systems. As Lindsay points out:¹ "It seems to reject strongly the Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism which had marked the later Scholasticism which Luther had been taught in the Erfurt Convent. It appears to rest on and to express the evangelical thoughts of Augustine. But a careful examination shows that it is full of ambiguities; intentional loop-holes provided for the retention of semi-Pelagian modes of thought."

We must remember that it is not of any great importance which one of the several Schools the wording of this Decree represents. All of them are but minor propositions under the major one, namely, "that the use and wont of the Roman Church is the supreme law."² By thus elevating the customs of the Church to this pinnacle, all who believed or acted otherwise could be anathematized. Yet there is embodied in the Decree the refusal to treat the doctrine on the level to which the Protestants had raised it. Their view was that "without regard to the earthly condition of man and the psychological questions, the problem of sin and grace is identical with the problem of Godlessness and trust in God."³

That despite the Augustinian ring of the Decree there was a tenden-

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1. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 575.
 2. Harnack, History of Dogma, VII, p. 58.
 3. Ibid, p. 60.

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1. History of the Reformation, p. 578.
2. History of the Reformation, VII, p. 58.
3. Idem, p. 59.

cy to leave the whole matter in the old position, is shown by the closing sentence of the Decree. "This same holy synod doth nevertheless declare, that it is not its intention to include in this decree, where original sin is treated of, the blessed and immaculate virgin Mary, the mother of God, but that the constitutions of Pope Sixtus IV, of happy memory, are to be observed, under the pains contained in the said constitutions, which it renews."¹

The ambiguity which is so marked in the Decree on Original Sin almost nullifies the work of Trent on this important doctrine. It seems to fail to set up any norm whereby Catholic teaching may be distinguished from that of the Reformation. This we may regard as an effect of the Protestant influence. Prior to this time, there had never been the slightest concession, in official statements of dogma, to the evangelical teachings of Augustine, which the Reformers had adopted as their own. Luther had been taught Semi-Pelagian views in Erfurt, but had rejected them in favor of those of Augustine. These latter, views, he held, could be traced back to Paul. In this we see but another expression of the cardinal Reformation tenet of going back to the sources. In this case, however, it was applied to men, rather than to the Bible. We conclude that the ambiguity in this Decree was intended, in order that as many opinions as possible might be placated. But this very ambiguity may be attributed to the Reformers, and is a recognition of the strength of the Augustinian views, which they advocated.

1. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 24.

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The ambiguity which is so marked in the Decree on Original Sin almost nullifies the work of Trent on this important doctrine. It seems to fail to set any new norm whereby Catholic teaching may be distinguished from that of the Reformation. This we may regard as an effect of the Protestant influence. Prior to this time, there had never been the slightest concession in official statements of dogma, to the evangelical teachings of Augustin, which the Reformers had adopted as their own. Luther had been taught Semi-Pelagian views in Luthera, but had rejected them in favor of those of Augustin. These latter views, as held, would be traced back to Paul. In this we see but another expression of the cardinal Reformation tenet of going back to the sources. In this case, however, it was applied to man, rather than to the Bible. We conclude that the ambiguity in this Decree was intended, in order that as many opinions as possible might be placed. But this very ambiguity may be attributed to the Reformers, and is a recognition of the strength of the Augustinian view, which they advocated.

THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION

The attitude of opposition that was adopted in regard to the Protestants, and especially toward the Lutherans, established a precedent that was followed more and more during the remainder of the Council. The next doctrinal matter that came up was the question of Justification. This was the very backbone of the Lutheran system. Legate Cervini pointed out to the Council that this was a new field, for no preceding Council had ever been called upon for a definition. He pointed out further that Luther's doctrine of Justification was at the root of most of his other errors, and hence it was vital that the Council point out the real remedy for the heresy.

Some members of the Council were in favor of taking the easier path through this thorny tangle. They proposed¹ that five or six fundamental articles of the heretical doctrine be chosen and condemned, as had been done in the discussion of Original Sin. In support of this they invoked the proceedings of earlier Councils, which had never descended to particular propositions, but condemned the whole. This opinion was, however, discarded in

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favor of the examination and condemnation of the propositions of the Lutheran doctrine, if after deliberation it should seem necessary and convenient. The subject of justification was new and of great interest to the majority of the delegates, as well as being the central citadel of the Lutheran position, so it was resolved to plunge boldly into it. As a preliminary, twenty-five articles¹ were framed, extracted from Lutheran doctrine. These were carefully examined and needless to say, were condemned. A comparison of proposition and canon will be inserted later.

The new Thomism was perhaps the strongest theological force in the Council, and had to be dealt with. "If the Protestant conception of Justification be treated merely as a doctrine, - which it is not, being an experience deeper and wider than any form of words can contain, - if it be stated scholastically, then it is possible to express it in propositions, which do not perceptibly differ from the doctrine of Justification in the New Thomist theology."² Harnack has pointed out that the real difference lay in this, that "just on account of the doctrine of Justification the Protestants combated as heretical the usages of the Roman Church, while the Augustinian Thomists could not understand why it should be impossible to unite the two."³

But while there were those holding to Justification by faith alone, they found that they were in the minority and that little opportunity was given them to express their opinions, for they would be rudely interrupted by those who held contrary notions. Even blows were exchanged over the matter. The view of Justification that seemed to commend itself to the

1. Sarpi, History of the Council of Trent, p. 180.

2. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 577.

3. Harnack, History of Dogma, VII, p. 57.

majority of the delegates was a mediating one held generally by the New Thomists.

The Fathers got into the subject of the real meaning of Justification and found that it had many aspects. The same was true of faith and some contended that it had as many as fifteen meanings. So there were deep chasms separating the various opinions and it was a task to try to evolve a general working agreement.

During the early discussion the New Thomist position seemed about to carry the field. Seripando, general of the Augustinian Eremites, the order of which Luther had been a member, was the leader of this group. But subsequent discussion swung over to favor the papal position, when the papal theologians, led by Lainez the Jesuit, became active. Lainez accepted the distinction made by Seripando between imputed and inherent righteousness, and even conceded that the imputed variety alone was able to effect justification. But he urged the belief that in practice the two types overlapped to some extent and hence they were not to be considered as being wholly distinct, for "that would be dangerous to practical theology." Lindsay goes on to say, "His clear plausible reasoning had great effect and the ambiguities of his address are reflected in the looseness of the definitions of the Decree."¹

The usual custom of having the preliminary discussion rest in the hands of the non-voting theologians was followed here. They divided the questions so that it fell under five heads:²

"What is the meaning and the essence of justification; what is

1. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 578.

2. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. cii.

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meant, that is, by the expression, a man is justified." On this point there was agreement that the word justification signifies the passage from the state of enmity with God to that of friendship and adoption as the child of God; that as its essence, its formal cause is charity or grace infused into the soul.

2. "What are the causes of justification; that is, what does God effect, and what is required on the part of man?" Again, the concensus of opinion seemed to be that the free will has an active part in the process.

3. "How are we to understand the words of St. Paul, man is justified by faith?" Here the fathers performed a bit of exegesis that satisfied the majority of their number; "Man is said to be justified by faith, because without faith it is impossible to please God; that it is the first remote disposition and, as it were, the root of justification, but not its proximate and efficient cause, which is faith accompanied by baptism or penance; whilst its formal cause is faith animated by charity and sanctifying grace; faith, that is, working by charity." Thus they made room for their doctrine of the worth of the sacraments.

4. "Whether, and in what manner, works before, or after, justification, concur thereunto; and what share have the sacraments therein." The good works done prior to justification were held to be of worth for it only as they gave to the individual a bent in that direction; while the works done after justification serve to preserve and augment the grace received from Christ in the act. This followed, of necessity, for the performance or reception of the sacraments and of good works constituted a kind of preferred claim against the storehouse of the merits of Christ.

5. "What precedes, accompanies, and follows justification?" The answer to this was involved in the preceding points, and was explained

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6. "The authorities whether Scripture, Councils, Fathers, or apostolical Traditions, on which the answers to the proposed questions rest." The Fathers appealed to all of these in their efforts to arrive at a definition that would uphold mother Church and at the same time, bring confusion to the Protestants.

These matters were fully discussed by the theologians and their decisions laid before the general congregation. This body met repeatedly, and after many attempts and not a few alterations, succeeded in drawing up a decree. It was decided that this decree should set forth the Catholic doctrine of Justification, and that a list of canons, with appropriate anathemas, should be appended to it, in order that the Protestant doctrine should be fully condemned. This was done, and the results of the long months of debate and revision issued in the sixteen chapters of the Decree and the thirty-three canons which followed it. The Decree divides itself into three main sections: Chapters 1-9, describing what Justification is; Chapters 10-13, on the increase of Justification; and Chapters 14-16, on the restoration of Justification when it has been lost. As Lindsay says, almost every chapter contains grave ambiguities.

The profound question that had been stirring the Fathers lay in the query: "Is man saved by faith alone, or is he saved by faith and good works? Salvation by faith alone was the central thought of Protestantism. Around it had revolved the most bitter animosities. Its acceptance by the Council would have rendered the entire sacramental system of the Church un-

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necessary." ¹ It would seem that there was some effort made in the Council to understand the Protestant teaching and to give it a fair hearing. But the two systems, in their entirety, entail such widely differing types of piety and give rise to such divergent modes of life, that they could not be reconciled. So the essential part of good works in the process of salvation, although a caution was inserted against a too complete reliance upon them, was proclaimed.

The Introduction of the Decree starts the good work. "Whereas there is, at this time . . . a certain erroneous doctrine disseminated touching Justification . . . the sacred Synod of Trent . . . purposes . . . to expound to all the faithful of Christ the true and sound doctrine touching the said Justification, which . . . the Catholic Church has always retained." ²

The Decree that follows constitutes a masterpiece of theological dexterity, yet it is the expression of a vast amount of effort on the part of the Council.

The wording of the first chapter would seem to indicate there was some purpose of placating the Protestants. Statements were made with which they could heartily agree. "It is necessary that each one recognize and confess, that, whereas all men had lost their innocence in the prevarications of Adam . . . they were so far the servants of sin . . . that . . . (they) were (not) able to be liberated." ³ "The Heavenly Father . . . sent Jesus Christ, his own Son . . . that . . . both . . . the Jews . . . and . . . the Gentiles . . . might attain to justice . . . Him hath God prepared as a propitiator, through faith in his blood." ⁴ So also runs the thought through

1. Hulme, Renaissance, Protestant Revolution and Catholic Reformation, p. 434

2. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 30.

3. Ibid, p. 31.

4. Ibid, p. 33.

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The seventh chapter is directed mainly against the errors of Luther, especially on the formal cause of justification, on the actual remission and cancelling of sin, and his favorite doctrine of imputative justice.

In the ninth chapter reference is made to the confidence abroad among the heretics in regard to their certainty of receiving remission of sins. Against this confidence, which was condemned as rash and baseless, they set the statement, ". . . Seeing that no one can know with a certainty of faith which cannot be subject to error, that he has obtained the grace of God."² It had been proposed to alter this statement to read, "Catholic faith," but the Council voted it down.

A contradiction is to be found in chapter ten. Here we learn that man, "having been justified . . . through the observance of the commandments of God and of the Church, faith co-operating with good works, increases in that justice . . . and is still further justified."³ This is set forth despite the previous declaration that justification consists of a translation from one state to another. This view was set forth in chapter seven, "Justification . . . which is not remission of sins merely, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inward man, through the voluntary re-

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ception of the grace, and of the gifts, whereby man of unjust becomes just,¹ and of an enemy a friend . . . " In fact, the entire second section of the Decree is a contradiction of the position of the opening chapters, for it deals with the subject of the increase of Justification. It was anti-Protestant in its leaning.

Even more was this tendency manifested in the third section, dealing with the restoration of justification when it was lost. "As regards those, who by sin, have fallen from the received grace of Justification, they may again be justified, when, God exciting them, through the Sacrament of Penance . . . "² Small place here for the exercise of faith such as Luther contended was alone necessary for the attainment of justification. Such faith as those who had fallen might have must be directed toward a belief in the efficacy of the Sacrament of Penance. As Lindsay says,³ there were some few concessions to the Augustinian feeling in the Church, but on the whole, the final chapters of the Decree were definitely anti-evangelical.

The Augustinian doctrines had had their place in the Church ever since their formulation, or rather, their re-discovery by the great African, for Paul first taught them. However, it was Augustine who enunciated the so-called "evangelical" doctrine. This is "the religion of faith, as distinct from that of works; the religion which despairing of self, casts all its hope on God, as opposed to the religion which, in a greater or lesser degree, trusts itself."⁴ So we have Luther quoting, in support of his contention, these early authorities. "I am not the only one or the first to say that faith alone justifies. Ambrose said it before me, and Augustine and many others; and if a man is going to read St. Paul and understand him, he will have to say the same thing and can say nothing else."⁵

1. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 37

2. Ibid, p. 34.

3. Ibid, p. 41

4. Hastings', Encyclopedia of Religion And Ethics II, p. 223.

5. Holman, Works of Martin Luther V, p. 22.

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 2. Ibid., p. 34.
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Thus did Luther trace the continuity of his doctrine from the very founders of the Christian system and of the church. He also adhered in this to his principle of going to the Scriptures for his authority, rather than trusting to what the Church had to say.

The Protestant revolt brought this Augustinian tendency to a head and gave added power to those in the church who maintained a similar doctrine. It was the revival of religion in the purity of its conception, which was in reality the revival of Augustinianism. Upon this there was a great schism in the Church. The Council of Trent was forced to tread softly and make some few concessions to the evangelical element within its ranks, lest they too break away and join the Protestants.

Along with the positive statement of the Catholic doctrine the Council thought it good to attach a list of canons, so that all might be able to see the good and cleave to it as well as the evil which was to be avoided. These thirty-three canons were drawn up chiefly in reply to the list of Lutheran statements that were before the Council. All of the comparisons and parallels will not be recounted, but a few examples will be cited to show how the Tridentine Fathers were determined to prove to all the world that Luther was a monstrous teacher.

Article 7. "The fear of hell helpeth not in gaining of justice,
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yea, hurteth, and is sin, and maketh the sinners worse."

Canon VIII "If any one saith, that the fear of hell, - whereby,
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sinning, - is a sin, or makes sinners worse, let him be anathema."
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Article 1. "Faith without works is sufficient to salvation and

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Article V. "The fear of hell helpeth not in gaining of Justice."

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Article I. "Faith without works is sufficient to salvation and

alone doth justify."¹

Canon IX. "If any one saith that by faith alone the impious is justified, in such wise as to mean, that nothing else is required to cooperate in order to the obtaining the grace of Justification, and that it is not in any way necessary, that he be prepared and disposed by the movement of his own will; let him be anathema."²

Article 2. "Justifying faith is a sure trust by which one believeth that his sins are remitted for Christ; and those that are justified are bound to believe certainly that their sins are remitted."¹

Canon XIII. "If any one saith that it is necessary for every one for the obtaining the remission of sins that he believe for certain and without any wavering arising from his own infirmity and indisposition, that his sins are forgiven him; let him be anathema."³

It is needless to pursue the comparisons further. Those above given are ample to show the spirit in which the Fathers dealt with this central Lutheran doctrine. They had started out with the avowed intention of condemnation and they pursued it to the end. Needless to say the Decree and the Canons were received with satisfaction in Rome.

The position is generally conceded that this Decree on Justification was the one that closed the door upon any possible return of the Protestants into the one and original Church from which they had revolted. Though the difference in definition seems to us to be a quibbling over words yet they made it plain that the reformers had an entirely different doctrine and hence were anathema. Yet it is to be said that this was but the major-

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ity vote, and there were those in the Council who dissented. Some¹ would have us believe that this Decree on Justification went a long way toward placating the Protestants and stating a belief in which they could concur. But the fact remains that it has since been considered by them an insuperable² barrier between their position and that of Rome.

Despite the arduous effort put forth at Trent, the Fathers did not succeed in making clear the distinction between their teaching and that of the reformers. This "thorny doctrine of grace" was indeed a stumbling-block to them. Perhaps the real difference is but one of degree, for the Decree as finally promulgated was one that, in contrast to the scholastic efforts of preceding centuries, could have been accepted by the Protestants. Many points of contact might have been established, if it could have been forgotten that this fair-sounding phraseology concealed quite a different meaning. For "the authors of the Decree, in spite of their Biblical attitude and their edifying language, did not really know what faith meant, as evangelically understood. In spite of all appearances to the contrary, the interest that really governs the whole Decree is the desire to show how there can be an attainment to good works that have weight in the sight of God."³

under way and they continued to engage the attention of the Fathers during all of this second meeting.

The legates in charge of this second session were blind adherents of the papal party. They well understood that it was their business to proceed further with the systematic restatement of the old Dogma in the interests of the Papacy, which had been so successfully begun. The Papacy had no more

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1. Hastings', Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, III, p. 838.
 2. Littledale, History of Council of Trent, p. 44.
 3. Harnack, History of Dogma VII, p. 61.

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Dorcas as finally promulgated was one that, in contrast to the satisfaction of
some of Protestant countries, could have been accepted by the Protestants.
Many points of contact had not been established, it is true, but have been
suggested that this fair-mindedness was a different
meaning. For the authors of the Decree, in spite of their biblical standards
and their editing language, did not really know what faith meant, as even-
tually understood. In spite of all explanations to the contrary, the in-
correct that really covers the whole Decree is the desire to show how there
can be an attainment to good works that have weight in the sight of God.
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1. Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, III, p. 328.
2. Kittleson, History of Council of Trent, p. 42.
3. Harwood, History of Dogma, VII, p. 21.

THE SACRAMENTS

Having disposed of the question of Justification, the Council next turned its attention to the matter of the Sacraments. It was introduced in the congregations that met prior to the Seventh Session and was so handled as to show the policy of the Legates to still further alienate the Protestants. The Emperor protested, still wishing that reform might have the priority of discussion. This, along with his other actions, alarmed the Pope who wished the Council moved from German to Italian soil. A pretext was found in the outbreak of the plague in Trent, and the Council was moved to Bologna. But little was done there, owing to the opposition of Charles, so the sessions were suspended in 1549.

The next Pope, Julius III, came to an agreement with Charles that the Council should be re-opened in Trent, which was done in 1551. None of the reformers had much faith in the second meeting of the Council, for although the Pope had promised to see measures taken for their conciliation, his policy prior to the sitting of the Council did not bear him out. When the Sessions actually began, it was decided to take up the work of codifying doctrine where it had been dropped. Discussion of the Sacraments had been under way and they continued to engage the attention of the Fathers during all of this second meeting.

The Legates in charge of this second session were blind adherents of the papal party. "They well understood that it was their business to proceed further with the emphatic restatement of the old Dogma in the interests of the Papacy, which had been so successfully begun. The Papacy had no more intention of conciliation in doctrine than it had during the Sessions under
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It was part of the policy of Charles to have the Protestants represented at this second meeting of the Council. He had hoped for much from the Augsburg Interim in the way of conciliation, but had been disappointed. So now he urged the German Diet to send envoys to Trent. The Germans were skeptical, although they were willing to try. Remembering the fate of John Huss at Constance, they sought for a safe-conduct that would be really safe. They further stipulated that the dogmas already drawn up should be re-examined to show respect to their teachings. Also that they should be assured of their right to be heard in the debates, and to vote. The Pope was to be subject to the Council.

Such demands were regarded in Trent as monstrous and so the safe-conduct was held up. "That a safe conduct should be granted at all was, in Pallavicino's opinion, an enormous concession to German perversity and wickedness. In the eyes of the church, heretics were the worst form of criminals and might be caught in traps, legitimately."¹ But a document called a safe-conduct was at length drawn up and forwarded to Germany, but it was so worded as to afford no protection at all. After much negotiation it was redrawn in a way that was reasonably satisfactory. It was plain, from all this hesitation that the Protestants were not wanted in Trent. However, taking their lives in their hands, delegates did go to Trent under the nominal shelter of the doubtful safe-conduct, arriving there in 1552, after the Council had been going full blast for many months. Indeed, it appears that the Legates hastened the progress of discussion that they might find themselves completely alienated by the decisions already made when they reached Trent. At any rate, all they could do was state their case after they arrived in

1. Enquete Council of Trent, p. 259.

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Trent, for matters had proceeded beyond recall. "The only result (of all these negotiations) was to reveal how wide was the gulf between the Council¹ and the Protestants."

We have mentioned that the Council had attacked the question of the Sacraments in the closing Sessions of its first meeting. Here, with the usual care, a list of statements or propositions, relevant to the subject, were extracted from the writings of the reformers. In this list there were fourteen relating to the Sacraments in general, seventeen relating to the Sacrament of Baptism, and four relating to Confirmation.² The mode of procedure was to be an examination and condemnation of these extracts in appropriate canons. It was decided that inasmuch as the Council of Lateran had sufficiently stated the doctrine of the Sacraments, nothing need be done in this direction.

In the treatment of the separate propositions the discussion often fell into channels that scarcely reflected the dignity of the task. For example: The reformers said "that the sacraments of the church are not seven, but fewer, which may be called truly sacraments."³ In support of the number of seven the Fathers were tedious in recounting the number of times that seven is to be found; seven capital vices, seven virtues, seven defects, seven planets, etc. From this the equal sanctity of seven as applied to the sacraments was deduced. To make it all air-tight, in the canon, the seven were named, and anyone who failed to accept them all - "let him be anathema."

One of the Luthern opinions that was especially condemned was this, which was the direct outcome of his principle of Justification by faith;

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1. Cambridge Modern History, II, p. 672.
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One of the Lutheran opinions that was especially condemned was this which was the direct outcome of his principle of justification by faith:

1. Cambridge Modern History, II, p. 672.
2. Schaff, History of Councils of Trent, p. 218.
3. Ibid.

"That the intention of the ministers is not necessary and worketh nothing in the Sacraments."¹ This gave rise to a deal of discussion. One Father, really defending Luther, spoke feelingly of the emotions of a tender father whose son, being at the point of death, might doubt the intention of the priest who baptized the son. This doctrine was not approved by the Divines, yet they could scarce see how to refute it. In the end they clung to their belief that the minister must have at least the proper intention. Witness the Canon: "XI. If any one saith, that, in ministers, when they effect and confer the sacraments, there is not required the intention at least of doing what the Church does, let him be anathema."² So it went all through the list of the fourteen propositions on the Sacraments in general; they were condemned in thirteen canons drawn up by the Council. In these we see that, as Lindsay well says, "little pains were taken to conciliate the Protestants, the decisions arrived at pass over in contemptuous silence all the Protestant contentings. The relations of the Sacraments to the word and promises of God, and to the faith of the recipient are not explained. The thirteen canons which sum up the doctrine of the Sacraments in general, and the anathemas with which they conclude, are the protest of the Council against the whole Protestant movement."³

Essentially the same procedure was followed in the handling of each one of the Seven Sacraments. In the matter of baptism there was almost universal agreement in rejecting all of the Protestant contentings. Although after a vast amount of debate they were forced to concede that even heretics

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1. Sarpi, History of Council Of Trent, p. 218.
 2. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 55.
 3. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 582.

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could truly administer baptism, provided they use the words and have the intention of the Church. This concession must have been painful, but make it they must or violate former statements as to the worth of the words and intention of the Church.

In the third proposition of the reformers in regard to confirmation it was held to be now merely "an idle ceremony, and formerly was a catechism when children, coming to age, gave an account of their faith before the Church."¹ Here the Divines reached the conclusion that, "since it was not so used at present, they must conclude that it had never been so used. For the Church would never have intermitted that ceremony."² Truly an interesting deduction to make, that shuts its eyes to whatever history might have to offer in the way of evidence.

Also in the matter of confirmation, on the proposition that the minister of confirmation is not the bishop only, but may be any priest, there was difficulty. Here the several schools of thought, as well as the Orders, came into conflict. The word "ordinary" was inserted to placate the Franciscans, but the real effect of the canon was to elevate the common practice of the bishop to confirm into the rank of dogma. This custom was based on the historical position of the bishops to be also pastors in their dioceses.

Following the handing down of the decision in the matter of the Sacrament of Confirmation the Council adjourned to Bologna and then was returned to Trent, as we have pointed out. Here the doctrinal discussion was resumed with the Sacrament of the Eucharist for consideration. As usual, a

1. Sarpi, History of Council of Trent, p. 219.

2. Ibid, p. 228.

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1. Script. History of Council of Trent, v. 219.
2. Ibid., p. 238.

list of articles were presented from the writings of the heretics, in this case being only from Zwingli and Luther. There were ten of them and after discussion they were rejected as heretical, and later had canons framed to cover them.

In the doctrine of the Eucharist the Council could not re-open the question in any complete fashion without making the tacit admission that there had been incorrect teaching current in the church. This doctrine had been laid down at the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1216 and both Constance¹ and Basel had re-affirmed it. So to re-open it would give weight to the Protestant charge of the fallibility of the ancient church, which the Fathers dared not permit. So outside of condemning the Protestant heresies the discussion was centered about details that did not conflict with the main positions. These debates dealt with the mode of the real presence, and again, with the necessity of confession before communion. In the former instance the Franciscans and the Dominicans were the disputants. All through these discussions the opinions of the several schools came into conflict, and hence we see in the resulting decree and the canons a "dexterous dovetailing of sentences making a mosaic of different scholastic theories."²

The Council had to be very careful to avoid to seem to give the preference to any one of these schools. But they could, and did agree in the matter for which they were assembled, the condemnation of the current heresies of the Protestants.

On the positive side the doctrine as promulgated stated again the Catholic position on those points especially where reforming teaching differed. Luther had attacked the idea of transubstantiation, and so Chapter

1. Littledale, History of the Council of Trent, p. 55.

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IV of the Decree deals with this and affirms it in certain terms. The chief aim that the Protestants had in wishing to attend this meeting of the Council was to seek to gain the use of the cup to the laity. This was a matter of concern to the theologians of Trent and was not finally settled until in the third meeting, 1562. There was enunciated the doctrine that while mother Church, in her wisdom, had often permitted the use of both kinds, yet it had seemed good to her to limit it to one. All were forbidden to teach that as much was not received under one as under both kinds in the Eucharist. The canons are emphatic upon this point. "Canon III, "If any one denieth that Christ whole and entire . . . is received under the one species of bread . . .¹ let him be anathema."

On the negative side the canons were explicit in their denial of the original propositions discussed. They were introduced by the statement: "But forasmuch as it is not enough to declare the truth, if error be not laid bare and repudiated, it hath seemed good to the holy Synod to subjoin these canons, that all, - the Catholic doctrine being already recognized - may now² also understand what are the heresies which they ought to guard against." Luther had taught that faith was the only requisite for receiving the benefit of the Eucharist. This was dealt with in Canon XI, "If any one saith that faith alone is a sufficient preparation for receiving the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist; let him be anathema."³

Much had been said in regard to Penance in the discussion of Justification, but it came up for a deal of discussion in its own right. The Catholic Church made so much of it that careful codification was necessary. Again the schoolmen had to be placated. This rite was not admitted to be a

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sacrament by the reformers, and they had spoken much against it. A list of their propositions in this regard was laid before the Fathers, of which we need mention but one. "Penance is not properly a sacrament, instituted by Christ for the reconciliation of those who have fallen after baptism; neither is it rightly termed, by the Fathers, a second plank after shipwreck; but that baptism is in truth one and the same sacrament as Penance." ¹ This statement was, of course, accorded the proper anathema in the canons later published. The sacrament of Penance was held to have been instituted by Christ and to be different from baptism in nature and design.

The reformers also denied the validity of Extreme Unction as a sacrament, but it was affirmed to be such by the Council, which traced it to Christ. The Sacraments of Orders and of marriage were treated at a later session, but they need not concern us here. So all of the historic Seven Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church were defined and anathemas pronounced upon all who dared to differ from any phase of any one of them.

In the discussion in regard to the Sacraments the determining interests of Catholicism found expression. It was her purpose to re-affirm her position as the Sacrament-Church, as is shown by this statement in the Decree on the Sacraments in general. ² "For the completion of the salutary doctrine on Justification . . . it hath seemed suitable to treat of the most holy Sacraments of the Church, through which all true justice either begins, or being begun is increased, or being lost is repaired." A complete silence is maintained as to how this power resides in the sacraments, a silence that can mean but one thing - the sacrament itself, externally applied, is

1. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. cxxxix.

2. Ibid., p. 53.

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regarded to be the means of salvation.

So in thus defining her position, the church may be regarded as withdrawing from the struggle which Luther's theses opened up, and thus refusing to treat of religion on the level to which Luther had raised it. Trent affirmed that the Church was the "papal, sacramental institution ... It held firmly to the ancient medieval stage. That is pre-eminently the significance of the Great Council."¹

REFORM

The preliminary negotiations and statements of purpose of the Council of Trent agreed that the questions of reform, and of definition of doctrine were to be regarded as of equal importance. But in the deliberations of the Council, reform was always subordinated. This was due mainly to the Pope, who wanted the whole subject of reform left strictly alone. By antagonistic statements of dogma, the Protestants could be shown as heretics, while by tabling the matter of reform, the church, and especially the curia would be allowed to pursue their way unchecked. The Council also worked on the theory that once the doctrines were drawn up, good morals would be bound to follow in the train of right faith, and debate on reform would be unnecessary.

The cry for reform had been raised for so long and had been taken up by so many voices that it had to receive treatment of a sort in the Council. As we stated in the description of the organization of the Council, it was decided to handle reform and doctrine at the same time. This was done,

1. Harnack, History of Dogma, VII, p. 56.

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but it seems from a study of both the history of the Council and its decrees that reform was, in comparison to doctrine, accorded only the odds and ends of both discussion and pronouncement. It was stated that the press of time did not permit of discussion of the matters of the Church and of the Pope. This silence proved in later times to be extremely favorable to the Pope and one wonders how much foresight the Popes exercised at Trent.

Luther had been especially outspoken as to the need of reform. In his "Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" he deals very directly with it. Abuses which should be dealt with in Councils were enumerated, along with twenty-seven Proposals for Reform.¹ The majority of these constituted an attack upon the Pope and the Curia and the abuses they led to. Many, in fact, most of the proposed reforms set up by Luther and others interested in the purification of the church, were either ignored or else passed by with scant consideration by the Council.

Our great advocate of Trent, Kinsman, waxes enthusiastic over the reforms instituted at that synod.² He tells us that it fulfilled its mission as a reforming Council in a definite way. But he is also careful to point out that all of these one hundred and fifty-four Decrees of Reformation established nothing new in the Church. They merely "confirmed traditional standards of discipline and provided guarantees for their observance." They did deal with the current laxity and in his opinion showed the readiness of the church to correct what might be wrong in her customs, but also her refusal to allow them to be destroyed. He says that "Trent nailed the evangelical Councils to the Church's mast."³ We would question his use of the term "evangelical", for that is the most apt characterization of the

1. Holman, Works of Martin Luther II, p. 99

2. Kinsman, Trent, p. 71.

3. Ibid, p. 71.

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Reformation tenets, as opposed to those of the Catholic Church.

However, we could agree with him that at Trent there was recognition that there had been corruption in high places and that efforts were made to remedy such abuses. On paper the Decrees on Reformation made quite a brave showing, and to a large extent they were carried out.

The Pope (Pius IV) issued a Bull of Confirmation, closing the work of the Council. It was calmly received by the Prelates, although it had the effect of nullifying all they had done, if the Pope so desired. Said His Holiness, "We, by apostolic authority forbid all men ... ecclesiastics ... laymen... prelates ... under pain of excommunication ... to presume without our authority, to publish in any form, commentaries, ... or any kind of interpretation whatsoever of the decrees of the said Council." ¹ It is evident that the total effect of the Reform Decrees of Trent was almost wholly dependent upon the character of the Popes which ruled after Trent.

A Change in the Character of the Popes was in evidence even prior to the close of the Council. Paul IV Came to the Papal Chair in 1555. He lived only a short time, but, in the words of Lindsay, he "was the embodiment of the Spanish idea of what a reformation should be." ² He was not interested in revising the medieval doctrines, but reform in Curia and Clergy was imperative. He began by deposing his nephews and under his vigorous rule Rome regained some measure of respectability.

1. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 288.

2. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, 11 p. 585

Reformation period, as pointed out above of the Catholic Church. However, we should note that at Trent there was recognition that there had been corruption in high places and that efforts were made to correct such abuses. On paper the Reformation was quite a brave showing, and to a large extent they were carried out.

The Pope (Pius IV) issued a bull of confirmation, clearing the way of the Council. It was calmly received by the Protestants, although it had the effect of nullifying all they had done. The Pope so declared. But his holiness, "no, by apostolic authority forbid all... resistance... laymen... prelates... under pain of excommunication... to stand with out our authority, to publish in any form, commentaries, ... or any kind of interpretation whatsoever of the fathers of the said Council." It is evident that the total effect of the Reformation of Trent was almost wholly dependent upon the character of the Pope which ruled after Trent.

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our time none remained a more sincere of responsibility.

1. Waterworth, Reforms and Decrees, p. 285.
2. Lathrop, History of the Reformation, II, p. 285.
294

His successor, Pius IV was a man of quite a different type. It was he who brought the Council to such a triumphant close. To again refer to Lindsay.¹ "All this (the positive work of Trent) was largely due to the man who ruled in Rome. Pope Pius IV, sprung from the Italian middle class, caring little for theology, by no means distinguished for piety, had seen what the Church needed, and by deft diplomacy had obtained it. A stronger man would have snapped the threads which tied all parties together, one more zealous would have lacked his infinite patience; a deeply pious man could scarcely have employed the means he continually used." After the close of the Council we find that Pius IV was energetic in seeking to carry out the reforms, as he had promised to sovereigns and Council. But he was not the man to really guide the Counter-Reformation. The man of the hour was found in his successor, Pius V.

The new Pope was a strict Dominican, with all their zeal for strict orthodoxy. He was an ascetic who never spared himself, and detested "the immoralities and irregularities which too often disgraced the lives of ecclesiasties" ... He was a Pope to lead the new Romanism, with its intense hatred of heresy, its determination to reform the moral life, and its contempt for the Renaissance and all its works. ... The new Pontiff believed, heart and soul in repression. He meant to fight the Reformation

1. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, II p. 594.

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by Lindsay, history of the Reformation, p. 246.

by the Inquisition and the Index; and these two instruments^{1.} were unsparingly used."

In the efforts of these Popes we see reflected the influence of the Reformation. They were its reactionary opponents and went to the extreme in seeking to stamp out the heresy of Protestant teachings. While Pius V, in particular, was an earnest reformer, yet had it not been for the Reformation, he would not have been nearly so zealous. Luther and his fellows focused attention on the abuses and their growing power rendered it vital that the inner reform, effected by Trent, express itself in a militant way. The Society of Jesus was the powerful agent of the Popes in accomplishing this reformation.

In their lives and teachings, the Jesuits demonstrated that the abuses which had formerly aroused so much condemnation were now purged away. The chief objection of the Reformation was thus annulled. The Catholics were now a united body as contrasted to the many petty feuds which rent the Protestants. "All this was the fruit of that new Catholicism which emerged triumphant from the Council of Trent".^{2.} We may truthfully say that the Protestant Reformation was the direct cause of this new Catholicism.

One of the standing abuses of the church in the Middle Ages was found in the non-residence of bishops. This was a corollary of the increase in the wealth and power of the Curia. For the prelates of a vast number of sees in Europe were merely the fawning sycophants of the Bishop of Rome.

1. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, 11 p. 595-6

2. Cambridge Modern History. 11 p. 688.

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I. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, II. p. 338-3

2. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, II. p. 338-3

In exchange for their see they had to attach themselves to the Court of Rome and by spending their stipends there, add to its magnificance. Protests were raised that the function of a bishop was to oversee the people of his see, and how could he do this when he never set foot within its borders? But the matter of getting such a rule of residence passed and then enforced would be a very difficult matter. Closely allied to this was the pluralism of sees, where a favorite or a son of the Pope might hold any number of them.

As may readily be seen, much of this was bound up with the abuses that had arisen in connection with the Curia. Against these Luther had been especially outspoken in his "Letter to the Christian Nobility" above referred to. Many of his Propositions for Reform had dealt with this matter of pluralism, and the way in which the disposal of so many of the sees of Christendom had fallen directly into the hands of the Pope.

The discussion began in the Council on the moot question of the relation of the bishops to the regular clergy. The former insisted that they were to be the authority in their own dioceses, and the latter retorted that the bishops had forsaken their appointed task, that of feeding the flocks entrusted to them. And so they had but taken up a neglected work, when they began to preach to the people. But soon the debate passed into a wider field where the question as to the authority back of the residence of bishops was examined. It had been the contention of the reformers, as well as of the more liberal Churchmen, "That such residence was de jure divino and not de lege ecclesiastica - something enjoined by God and, therefore, beyond alteration by the Pope. Behind this lay the thought, first introduced by Cyprian, that every bishop was within his congregation or diocese the vicar of Christ, and in the last resort responsible to Him alone."

1. Lindsay, History of the Reformation II, p. 592.

It was but the renewal of the old, old conflict between the conciliar and the curial conceptions of the Church. Neither gained a complete victory, although the margin seemed to be in favor of the latter.

The debates rolled on in regard to the matter of residence. A Decree on the matter was drawn up and sent to Rome. It enjoined residence, and when a bishop would be absent from his see for more than six months, he should forfeit one-fourth of his annual income from it. No mention was made of whether residence was jure divino or not, it was simply held to be necessary. However, it was limited by "the prescription that it was not to diminish in any way the authority of the Holy See." ¹ Thus it evaded the issue so persistently raised by the Spanish bishops as to jure divino. No mention was made of the cardinals, and a bishop might be absent from his see if the Pope deemed it to be necessary. So the provisions of this Decree were easily evaded.

But the Pope returned this Decree for revision, demanding that the jure divino be denied. He further stipulated that the cardinals were his own especial helpers and must be specifically exempted. All this aroused the ire of the Spanish bishops and in a body they held to their demands and even sent a copy to the Pope, as well as bringing them before the Council. Here it was found they were revolutionary and an attack upon the Papacy. But concessions had to be made to them, lest they revolt. At least it appeared so to the Legates. The Pope favored rejection of their demands. Then the question was allowed to rest for a time while doctrine had its turn.

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1. Cambridge, Modern History II, p. 669.

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Council was of one mind in affirming the necessity of residence, but could not agree if the necessity were jure divino or not. After debate the Legates ventured to put the question to a vote. The result left it still in doubt for while "sixty-six voted in favor of the divine nature of the obligation of residence, seventy-one either rejected it absolutely or voted¹ for remitting the question to the Pope." He dared not act upon this slender majority, for that would have incurred the wrath of Germany, France and Spain, all of whom supported the conciliar view. On the whole, however, the papal position was strengthened and this was adverse to the demands of the Protestants.

We need to remember that in these matters of reform there was not expressed the definite reaction to the positions or contentions of the reformers that there was on the matter of doctrine. The Protestants were only a portion of those who railed against the abuses of the church, although they had their share in dragging the matter out into the light of day. The Council was ever reluctant to take up the matter of reform, and what it did accomplish here was done only grudgingly.

The matter of residence is clearly one of the reforms of Trent that is of chief importance. It involved the other and greater question of the authority of the Pope, which we have seen was upheld. Meanwhile, the abuses connected with residence, to which Luther had objected so vehemently, the power of the Pope to control the majority of appointments and exemptions from residency, were touched upon but little. Reform in the Curia was not effected, as was naturally impossible in a Pope-ridden conclave. The opponents of curial domination kept up their fight all during the Council, but

1. Cambridge, Modern History II, p. 677.

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it was ever a losing struggle. Starting with the insertion of "Romana" in the ritual of the Creed in the opening session, the injunction that all ecclesiastical dignitaries must "promise and profess true obedience to the Sovereign Roman Pontiff",¹ and ending with the leaving of the interpretation and promulgation of all that the Council had done in the hands of the Pope, almost the entire proceedings of the Council testify to the triumph of Curialist ideas at Trent.

As we read the characterizations of the Clergy of the Roman Church by the Reformers, we are impressed with the apparent lack of a sense of the holiness of their profession. The matter of holding a benefice was merely a way of making money. It was of little consequence to many of the Clergy whether or not they fulfilled the duties of their office. At least, that in the picture presented by the Reformers. It was but another phase of the same spirit expressed in the non-residence of so many bishops.

With this pathetic lack of a vocational consciousness on the part of the clergy, it is not surprising that the Reformers found much to criticize. Luther spoke out on this point; when he was discussing a crusade against the infidels. "If I were emperor, king or prince, in a campaign against the Turks, I would exhort my bishops and priests to stay at home and mind the duties of their office, praying, fasting, saying mass, preaching and caring for the poor, as not only holy scripture, but their own canon law teaches and requires."²

1. Waterworth, Canons and Decrees, p. 255.

2. Holman; Works of Martin Luther V. p/ 86.

This matter, as can easily be seen, is closely allied to that of residence. Trent clearly recognized the need of preaching and the cure of souls on the part of the Clergy in the Decree that was formulated. "But seeing that the preaching of the gospel is no less necessary ... than the reading thereof, and whereas this is the principal duty of bishops; the same holy synod hath resolved and decreed, that all bishops, archbishops, primates and all other prelates of the churches be bound personally- - if they be not lawfully hindered--to preach the holy gospel of Jesus Christ."¹ The decree went on to say: "Whereas, it is by divine precept enjoined on all, to whom the cure of souls is committed, to know their own sheep: to offer sacrifice for them, and, by the preaching of the divine word, by the administrations of the Sacraments, and by the example of all good works to feed them." This was a re-inforcement of the decree on Residence for it stipulated that no prelate could be absent from his benefice, unless he appointed someone to carry on the work in his stead.

The neglect of preaching and of the cure of souls was further remedied by the decree which prohibited boys from holding benefices. "No one, after being initiated by the first tonsure, or even after being constituted in minor orders, shall be able to hold a benefice before his fourteenth year."²

On a par with their slackness in fulfilling their duties, was the ignorance of the clergy. Luther pointed out the vast amount of ignorance that prevailed amongst this supposedly learned class. In a sermon on "The Duty of Keeping Children at School", delivered

1. Waterworth; Canons and Decrees. p. 27.

2. Ibid. p. 180.

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in Aug. 1530, he dealt with the ignorant priests.¹ He contrasted the need of a highly educated evangelical priesthood with the traditional priesthood, whose Chief office was to say mass. "The mass priests are held in the highest honor, although they might not be able to preach and might be unlearned asses, as was mostly the case to this day."

Again he was pointing out the flaws in the current way of educating the priests. The practice was to start with the Bible and end with the Sentences of Peter Lombard. To Luther this seemed to be a reversal of the proper order. "How should we prosper so long as we act so perversely, and degrade the Bible, the holy word of God?"² Later, he adds; "A spinner or a seamstress teaches her daughter her trade while she is young, but now even the most learned prelates and bishops do not know the gospel".³

Finally, he fired away at his favorite target, the See of Rome. "For among all the principal sees there is scarcely any other which has had so few learned bishops. It is by force, fraud and superstition alone that it has prevailed over the rest."⁴

In response to this crying evil Trent gave a definite answer. There is one decree which applies to the unlearned priests who were already located.⁵ "Forasmuch as illiterate and unskilled rectors of parish churches are but little fit for the sacred office; and others, by reason of the turpitude of their lives,

1. Mackinnon, Luther and the Reformation. 1V p. 97.

2. Wade and Buchheim; Luthers Primary Works. p.232.

3. Ibid. p. 234.

4. Ibid. p. 407.

5. Waterworth: Canons and Decrees. p. 148.

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1. Beckmann, *Luther and the Reformation*, IV p. 97.
2. *Ibid.* p. 104.
3. *Ibid.* p. 107.
4. *Waterworth: German and Doctors*, p. 148.

rather destroy than edify; the bishops, even the delegates of the apostolic See, may depute to the said illiterate and unskilled rectors ... coadjutors or vicars for the time being."

Trent was even more positive and constructive in the Decree which provided for the founding of theological colleges or seminaries in every cathedral City in which candidates, preferably chosen from the poorer classes, were to be separately educated beginning with the age of twelve years. These colleges were to be erected and supported by a share of the various forms of income enjoyed by that particular diocese.

This plan of reform has been followed ever since, even more fully than any of the other reforms, and we find a sharp diversity of opinion as to its value. One author states that "most disastrous results have followed." The future priests were cut off from contact with the laity at an early age, thus stressing the gulf between the two. The training they got there was narrow and¹ productive of shallowness. Again, the system tended to put the clergy into the peasant class. But on the whole, they were a great improvement over the current educational system and so² perhaps the favorable view has the greater support. Lindsay lists this formulation of an educational system as one of the three great achievements of the Council. At any rate, it removed the scandal and abuse and vindicated the plea of the reformers.

Luther had strongly contended for the right of priests to marry. In his proposals for reform he says: "But I will not conceal my honest counsel, nor withhold comfort from the unhappy

1. Little Dale, Short History of Council of Trent, p. 103.
 2. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, p. 594.

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crowd who now live in trouble with wife and children and remain in shame with a heavy conscience, hearing their wife called a priest's harlot and their children bastards." Luther maintained that a priest and a woman who were faithful to each other, were surely married in the sight of God, even though men did not account them to be wedded.

He wrote much on the subject of marriage and included a blast at the practice of clerical celibacy. "In its evil effects (fornication, impurity), in this respect, the practice of the celibate life is, in fact, the strongest argument for the necessity and the moral efficacy of marriage. It practically imposes the licensing of concubinage and frustrates its professed object, for there is no more unchaste class than those professing chastity, as daily experience teaches. It is a silly and futile device which causes terrible misery of conscience among the Clergy." The great reformer also pointed out that St. Paul had left the marriage of priests to the individuals. This right the Roman See, "At the bidding of the devil", had abrogated. It had adopted the custom of certain great churchmen, who had been voluntary celibates, and it commanded all priests to follow their lead.

This plea of Luther was seconded by many others, both within and without the Roman Church. The Council delayed its reply on this matter until the deliberations were nearly at an end. Then it was rushed through along with a host of other reforms. Debate was almost entirely lacking on concubinage and marriage. It did legislate, however, in regard to the marriage of laymen. In the

1. Waterworth. Canons and Decrees. p. 270-1

2. Ibid. p. 195.

Decree of Reform issued in the late sessions of the council we find a statement relative to priests and concubines.

"The Holy Synod forbids all clerics whatsoever to keep concubines, or any other woman of whom any suspicion can exist, either in their own houses or elsewhere, or to presume to have^{1.} any intercourse with them." The punishment was the loss of the fruits of the benefice, suspension, and if the priest would persist in his evil course, total deprivation of the right to hold any benefice so long as he lived.

The Council's reply to Luther's plea for a married priesthood is found in the Canons attached to the Decree on the Sacrament of marriage.² "If anyone saith that clerics constituted in sacred orders, or regulars, who have solemnly professed chastity, are able to contract marriage, and that being contracted, it is valid, let him be anathema." Again, "If anyone saith that the marriage state is to be placed above the state of virginity, or of celibacy and that it is not better and more blessed to remain in virginity, or in celibacy, than to be united in matrimony, let him be anathema." So the plea of the Reformers for a married priesthood came to naught, so far as Trent was concerned.

Indulgences had been the spark that set off the Reformation. Luther wrote his famous ninety-five theses to refute them in practice. Many of his later polemics dealt with the same abuse. At the outset of the controversy he was merely seeking to point out the errors and abuses in the system. Thus he hoped to rouse

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the ecclesiastical authorities to the point where they would put a stop to the proceedings of the indulgence sellers. As the storm developed and raged around the question of indulgences, Luther's attacks on them changed. He censured the whole system and demanded its removal.

Opinion was divided in the council when it came to the consideration of this vital point, though it devoted but little time to it. The majority of the Fathers were inclined to admit the abuses, and to denounce many of the indulgence--sellers as fraudulent imposters, "telling false miracles, preaching false indulgences... so that the world was much scandalized."¹ Others defended indulgences "as being a very ancient institution, as discharging a useful public function, and as collecting large sums for pious and charitable objects."²

The Legates attempted a compromise by suggesting that indulgences be more closely supervised, to the end that abuses might be avoided. The decree embodied out their suggestion.

"The sacred holy synod teaches...that the use of indulgences for the Christian people most salutary, and approved of by the authority of sacred councils, is to be retained in the Church, and it condemns with anathema those who either assert that they are useless; or who deny that there is in the Church the power of granting them. And being desirous that the abuses which have crept therein, and by occasion of which the honorable name of indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, be amended and corrected,

1. Sarpi. History of Council of Trent. p. 468.

2. Littledale History of Council of Trent. p. 86

the ecclesiastical authorities at the point where they would put a stop to the proceedings of the indulgence sellers. As the story developed and raged around the question of indulgences, Luther's attacks on them changed. He censured the whole system and demanded its removal.

Opinion was divided in the council when it came to the consideration of this vital point, though it devoted but little time to it. The majority of the Fathers were inclined to admit the abuses, and to denounce many of the indulgence-sellers as fraudulent impostors, "telling false miracles, preaching false indulgences... so that the world was much scandalized." Others demanded indulgences "as being a very ancient institution, as discharging a useful public function, and as collecting large sums for pious and charitable objects."

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indulgences is dishonored by heretics, be amended and corrected,

1. Barth. History of Council of Trent. p. 488.
2. Little's History of Council of Trent. p. 88

it ordains generally by this Decree that all evil gains for the obtaining thereof ... whence a most prolific cause of abuses amongst the Christian people has been derived...be wholly abolished.¹ The Decree left the reformation of any other abuses to the Pope.

Thus we see how Trent struck at the root of the evil by abolishing the collecting of alms and the trading in indulgences. Even so, the Council was very cautious in the way it handled them. "The scholastic theory of indulgences is not in any way touched; the abuses are admitted, and their removal... lest ecclesiastical discipline be weakened by too great facility, it¹ strangely insisted on. But with regard to the matter itself there is no yielding, even to the extent of an inch; for indulgences have a saving value for Christendom".²

In the hierarchy and its abuses the Reformers found a ready target for their attacks. This was the "head", that, along with the "members" of the church, stood in such dire need of reform. The Protestants were not the first, nor the only ones to detect the flagrant evils in the Holy See. But they were the ones who brought the protests to a climax that led to the application of remedial measures.

In his Institutes, Calvin quotes from Bernard on the condition of the Holy See. "We see what a horrible profanation of everything sacred, and what a total disorganization of the Church there was at Rome in the days of Bernard. He complains

1. Waterworth. Canons and Decrees. p.278

2. Harnack, History of Dogma VII. p. 55.

that the ambitious, the avaricious, the simoniacal, the sacriligious, the adulterous, the incestuous, and all who were chargeable with the most atrocious crimes, from every part of the world, resorted to Rome, in order to procure or to retain ecclesiastical honors by the apostolical authority; and that fraud, circumvention and violence were generally practised." ^{1.}

When one comes to read in Luther on this subject, he is struck by the vigor with which the great reformer denounced the Hierarchy. Even allowing for his exaggerated language, there must have been a deplorable condition in Rome. Evidently no improvement had been made since the days of Bernard. Luther says in the letter to the Christian nobility, "At Rome there is such a state of things that baffles description. There is a buying, selling, exchanging, cheating, roaring, lying, deceiving, robbing, stealing, luxury, debauchery, villany, and every sort of contempt of God that antichrist himself could not possibly rule more abominably... and out of this ocean flows a like virtue into the whole world. Is it not natural that such people should dread a reformation and a free council and rather set kings and princes by the ears than that by their unity they should bring about a council?" ^{2.}

In another place, Luther speaks in equally strong terms, in regard to the doctrine of papal absolution: "If Rome deliberately professes this extreme doctrine, then Rome is Babylon and the Pope and the Cardinals are the abomination of desolation

1. Calvin, Institutes Book IV Chap. VII p. 328.

2. Mackinnon: Luther and the Reformation II p, 235.

1

standing in the holy place."

The custom of the Holy See to gain control of as many benefices as possible provoked the ire of Luther. This was done in a variety of ways, and those who were given the benefices usually attached themselves to the Papal Court. This vast crowd, Luther held to be unnecessary to the progress of the Church. "If we took away ninety-nine parts of the Pope's Court and only left one-hundreth it would still be large enough to answer questions on

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matters of belief." He did not content himself with mere attacks but proposed the remedy. We read in Mackinnon who paraphrases a sermon of Luther's: "He would begin by suppressing the whole system of trafficking in ecclesiastical offices, buying and selling benefices and other devices by which Rome not only sucks the wealth of Germany to maintain its corrupt regime, but dishonors God and destroys religion."³

Hence we may repeat that, while devout Catholics had cried out against the abuses in Mother Church, it was the Reformation which headed up the reform movement. It was plainly seen that it was only a travesty of Christianity which Rome exhibited. The conviction grew that radical measures were needed. "If Luther did nothing else, he at least shook the whole of Western Christendom out of its spiritual torpor. He ultimately compelled even the degenerate Roman Curia to face in earnest the problem of at least a counter-reformation."⁴

1. Mackinnon: Luther and the Reformation 11 p. 235
2. Wade and Buckheim: Luthers Primary Works. p. 178.
3. Mackinnon: Luther and the Reformation 11 p. 179.
4. Ibid. 1V p. 245.

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1. *Wachmann: Luther and the Reformation* II p. 255
2. *Wade and Buchheit: Luther's Primary Works* p. 178
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4. *Ibid.* IV p. 245

In the closing sessions of the council of Trent, a host of reform decrees were pushed through. Among them were its most pertinent pronouncements in regard to reform in the hierarchy. It would be almost too much to expect that any sweeping reform would be made here. The language of the Fathers on this subject is marked chiefly for its reserve and caution. The statements do indicate that the hierarchy must be cleansed, but only a rigid interpretation would reveal this fact.

A decree was published that dealt with the Clergy in general. "There is nothing that continually instructs others into piety, and the service of God, more than the life and examples of those who have dedicated themselves to the divine ministry...whereas...the holy Synod ordains, that those things which have been heretofore copiously and wholesomely enacted by sovereign pontiffs and sacred councils, ..relative to the life, propriety of conduct, dress, and learning of clerics and also touching the ~~luxurious~~ business, feastings, dances, gambling, sports, and all sorts of crime whatever, as also the secular employments, to be by them shunned."¹

In a later Decree, the hierarchy was explicitly treated.² "If, as regards all manner of degrees in the Church, a provident and enlightened care is to be taken, that in the house of the Lord there be nothing disorderly, nothing unseemly; much more ought we to strive that no error be committed in the election of him who is constituted above all those degrees. For the

1. Waterworth: Canons and Decrees. p. 162

2. Ibid. p. 205-7.

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1. *Decretum: Canonica et Decretum*, p. 182
2. *Ibid.*, p. 205-7.

state and order of the whole household of the Lord will totter if what is required in the body be not found in the head." The Decree closes with an exhortation that the Pope choose his helpers with great care."that he take unto himself, to wit as Cardinals, persons of the most select only."

In such a way was the plea for reforms in the hierarchy met. We are to attribute it to the work of the Protestants. Many of the other reforms of the Council of Trent might be cited and their relation to the Protestant Reformation pointed out, but only at the expense of repetition. All during the third meeting of the Council, which was practically devoted to reform, the Papacy played off the powers of Europe one against the other, with skilled diplomacy. So the Council ended with the Pope, figuratively speaking, still in the saddle and seated more firmly than ever.

"The disciplinary decrees of the Council on the whole fell short in completeness of the doctrinal. But while they consistently maintained the Papal authority and confirmed its formal pretensions, the episcopal authority, too, was strengthened by them, not only as against the monastic order, but in its own moral foundation. More than this, the whole priesthood, from the Pope downwards, benefited by the warnings that had been administered by the sacrifices that had been made and by the reforms that had been agreed upon. The Church became more united, less wordly, and more dependent upon herself.¹" These results have endured.

1. Ward, The Counter-Reformation, p. 100.

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1. What the Council accomplished, p. 100.

SUMMARY

The influence of the Protestant Reformation upon the Council of Trent was marked and positive. This influence will be summarized as follows:

1. The Council would not have been called, had it not been for the pressure brought to bear by the Reformation upon the Church at Rome.

The Popes were one and all, afraid of general councils, following the reforming councils of the fifteenth century. This fear eventually gave way to a greater one. The religious question, as agitated by the Reformers, was so pressing in Germany that Emperor Charles V undertook to settle it. He demanded a general Council for the purpose. The fear that unless this was granted Germany would set up an independent Church under the leadership of Charles, led the Pope to call the Council.

2. The Council pursued its task in a spirit of hostility to the Protestants.

This is shown by the constant majority of Italian bishops, the perpetual papal lobbying and the fixed policy at the Council to always interpret the Protestant teachings in the worst possible light.

3. The Roman Catholic Church stiffened, at Trent, its doctrines,

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2. The Council proved its task in a spirit of hostility to the Protestants. This is shown by the constant majority of Italian bishops, the perpetual papal lobbying and the fixed policy of the Council to always interpret the Protestant teachings in the worst possible light.

3. The Roman Catholic Church stiffened, at Trent, its backbone.

in reaction to the Protestant teachings.

This tendency is the most marked characteristic of the doctrinal statements of Trent. It appears, first of all, in the Decree on the Sources of Religious Knowledge. The Reformers had ever sought to go back to the original sources, and in pursuance of this aim, had declared in favor of the Hebrew Canon. Quite in opposition to this view, Trent accepted the Septuagint and the Vulgate, which were much later. At the same time, the Fathers professed to be seeking the purity of the Gospel, even while they cast aside the best scholarship of the Renaissance, and thus jeopardized that purity. The fact that the Tridentine Fathers even professed to be seeking the purity of the gospel is a tribute to the Reformation influence.

4. The strength of the Protestant views is attested by a note of ambiguity in certain of the Doctrinal Decrees of Trent.

The Decree on Original Sin is so worded as to allow the reader to find there expressed either Augustinian or Semi-Pelagian views. It fails to set up any norm whereby Catholic teaching may be distinguished from that of the Reformation. It seems to be evident that this ambiguity was intentional, in order to accommodate as many views as possible, and as such, was a concession to the Augustinian bias of the Reformers.

The same element of ambiguity is to be found in the Decree on Justification. This is partly due to the fact that Trent did not understand what the Reformers meant by faith, but even more

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4. The strength of the Protestant view is attested by a note of ambivalence in certain of the Doctrinal Decrees of Trent. The Decree on Original Sin is so worded as to allow the reader to find there expressed either a declaration of Catholic religious views. It fails to set up any more warmly Catholic teaching may be distinguished from that of the Reformation. It seems to be evident that this ambiguity was intentional. In order to accommodate as many views as possible, and as such, was a concession to the Augustinian side of the Reformers. The same element of ambiguity is to be found in the Decree on Justification. This is partly due to the fact that Trent did not understand what the Reformers meant by faith, but even more

it is to be attributed to the intentional refusal to treat the question on the level to which it had been raised by Luther.

5. Some reform measures for which the Protestants had contended were not enacted at Trent.

The vast power of the Pope was allowed to go unchecked, as was to be expected, in view of the constant majority of Italian bishops. Along with this, very little was done in the way of reform in the Curia.

The right of priests to marry was again denied and punishment appointed for those who presumed to do so. In these negations of the cry for reform, we see that while it was recognized by Trent, the Council refused to heed the cry.

6. Definite reform measures of far-reaching significance were, under the pressure from Protestant demands, enacted at Trent.

Chief among these should be mentioned the provision for the education of the Clergy. This has endured and has contributed greatly toward regaining the lost prestige of the priesthood.

Indulgences, the spark of the Reformation, were purged of many of their abuses and provision made from their publication in a more seemly manner.

Residence of bishops was more strictly enjoined and the need for the cure of souls and of preaching stressed. This contributed to a higher and more devoted type of life on the part of the clergy.

By these Reformation Decrees Trent heeded the demand of the

it is to be attributed to the intentional refusal to treat the question on the level to which it has been raised by Luther. 5. Some reform measures for which the Protestants had contended were not enacted at Trent.

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The right of election to many was again denied and confirmation appointed for those who presumed to do so. In these negotiations of the city for reform, we see that while it was recognized by Trent, the Council refused to meet the city.

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Chief among these should be mentioned the provision for the education of the clergy. This has secured and has consolidated the clergy's position regarding the last vestige of the priesthood. In addition, the agents of the Reformation, were urged to many of their abuses and provision made for their abolition in a more steady manner.

Retention of bishops was more actively enforced and the need for the care of souls and of practical business. This contributed to a higher and more devoted type of life on the part of the clergy. By these Reformation measures Trent met the demand of the

Protestants that the Church set her house in order. The Popes who ruled after Trent were of a higher type than their predecessors, with the result that the reforms were carried out. However, we need to remember that in these Reformation Decrees, as well as those on doctrinal matters, we have the expression of not only the influence of the Protestant Reformation, but of the very active party in the Roman Catholic Church. It has been part of the purpose of this Thesis to point out that the voice of this party in the Church would not have been heard, had it not been for the influence of the Reformation.

The Roman Catholic Church emerged from the Council of Trent with a compact body of doctrine and with provision for adequate reforms. For these results she can thank the Protestant Reformation. It was the force which led to the calling of the Council and its influence may be traced in practically all that the Council did.

Prior to Trent there had been a reasonable hope that Protestant and Catholic might be reconciled. Subsequent to Trent this hope was gone. The Fathers, under the influence of the Protestant Reformation, so stated their doctrines as to make subsequent reconciliation impossible. Their reactionary attitude was a parting of the ways. These two great bodies of Christendom have since trodden their separate paths.

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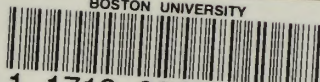
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